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**RHETORICAL COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON WARRANTS
IN ENGLISH AND INDONESIAN ARGUMENTATION**

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This study seeks the similarities and differences of the warrant in English and Indonesia argumentation. In this first chapter, the basis of the study is explained in the research context, the research focus and objectives, as well as its significance. In addition, the definition of key term is also provided to establish the understanding of the issue of rethorical comparative of warrant as the focus of this research.

1.1 Research Context

Writing is one of the language skills that it is prominent to express ideas and opinions. It is considered difficult by some writers (Blanchard & Christine, 2003) because it needs some processes which comprise thinking out sentences and considering various ways of combining and arranging them, rereading for exploring ideas, making notes, drafting and revising it for a better result.

Moreover, writing essay is not a simple thing since it concerns with how the writer builds ideas to give much explanation to the readers. Not only the ideas but also the language use must be appropriate with the audience who will read the essay. There are four types of writing essay such as exposition, description, narration, and argumentation (Oshima & Hogue, 1999). Furthermore, argumentation is the most significant essay since the writer tries to give some opinion or argument to influence the readers in order to have the same aim with the writer (Smalley & Ruetten, 1982).

Therefore, in the more recent past, argument becomes the choice of people when they want to refute other people's opinion. Many mass media such as newspaper, television, magazines, times, etc are used to share their arguments. Convincing other people to believe people's opinion is not an easy thing. Therefore,

argumentation turns out to be an alternative way to persuade and make other people to have the same opinion with ours since argumentation gives a conclusion by using logical reasoning based on claim, idea and a well-reasoned argument to verify the issue that is stated (Craswell, 2005). It shows the writer's way of taking a position on a debatable topic, supporting the topic with relevant evidences and keeping the readers on their side. It may also involve a refutation (Rohmah; 2009: 9). In conclusion, argumentative essay is an essay which is used to persuade or convince the readers.

Based on Rotternberg's perspective, argumentation is the art of influencing others, through the medium of reasoned discourse, to believe or act as we wish them to believe or act (1997). It means that to influence someone is not only done by giving an opinion but also showing good and valid reasons to make them believe.

In addition, a notorious British philosopher, Toulmin (2003), states that an argument is composed of at least six parts: the claim, the ground, the warrant, backing, qualifier, and rebuttal. Warrant is an important thing in argumentative essay. Warrant is general, hypothetical statements, which can act as bridges and entitle one to draw conclusions or make claims. It means that warrant becomes a bridge between claim and support. It connects the claim and support in order to give proves that the supports are valid and credible. As an example, for the claim "I was born in Bermuda", and the support "I am a British citizen", then the warrant is "A man born in Bermuda will legally be a British citizen."

Moreover, Rotternberg (1997) classifies warrant into three categories: authoritative, substantive, and motivational. Identifying the types of warrant accross different argumentation context is interesting. Viewed from the language used, the warrant is also influenced by the cultural bound in relation with the way argumentation is expressed. Based on this standpont, this study seeks the comparison between the types of warrant by capturing the data on English and Indonesian argumentation.

There are two interesting sites having different dimention of argumentation namely www.theaustralian.com.au and www.seputar-indonesia.com. Basically, there

are numerous online newspapers in English and Indonesian but both online news providers belong to the national newspaper which sets the agenda for other news media around the nation which are read by most people. This study focuses the analysis on the section referring to the opinion column in both online newspapers.

Previous writers presented the result of their findings on claims. Sari (2010) found that the claims of policy that are showed explicitly in introductory paragraph in *The New York Times* mostly used funnel type to give general statement concerning the subject in order to attract readers' attention before coming to the thesis statement. The finding is different from Yuningsih (2010) who discovered that the claims of fact in opinion editorial columnist section of the *New York on-line newspaper* are served in funnel and turn about. Also Rusliyah (2011) explored the claims of policy in opinion column of *The Jakarta Post* which mostly used funnel type. In addition, study on contrastive rhetorical analysis shows no significant difference between texts produced by English native and non-native writers (Ansary & Babaii, 2009). Yet, the more specific parts of argumentative essay which is called warrant in English and Indonesian argumentation has not been much explored.

1.2 Research Focus

Concerning to the crucial thing to explore warrants in argumentation accross different contexts, the research problems are formulated as the following:

1. What are the types of warrants used in the argument of claim of fact in English and Indonesian online newspapers?
2. What are the types of warrants used in the argument of claim of value in English and Indonesian online newspapers?
3. What are the types of warrants used in the argument of claim of policy in English and Indonesian online newspapers?

1.3 Research Objectives

Based on the focus of the study above, the objectives of the study are as the following:

1. To identify the similarities or differences on the types of warrants used in the argument of claim of fact in English and Indonesian online newspapers
2. To identify the similarities or differences on the types of warrants used in the argument of claim of value in English and Indonesian online newspapers
3. To identify the similarities or differences on the types of warrants used in the argument of claim of policy in English and Indonesian online newspapers

1.4 Research Significance

The result of this study is expected to give contribution to the readers as additional reference especially in the field of argumentative essay writing. By comprehending the types of warrants, it will help the writers to improve their writing quality. The result of this study is also expected to give contribution to the researchers as an empirical evidence to support enlarging the perspective of the theory of warrants which are stated by Toulmin and Rotterberg.

1.5 Definition of the Key Terms

Rhetoric is the theory and practice of eloquence in written which govern the ideas designed to influence the judgment or the feelings of readers. It therefore treats of all matters relating to beauty or forcefulness of style. In a narrower sense, rhetoric is concerned with a consideration of the fundamental principles according to which oratorical discourses are composed especially on the argument elements such as claim, support and warrant.

Argumentation is the art of influencing readers, through the medium of reasons discourse in written article, so that the readers believe or act as the writers wish them to believe or act.

Warrant is a guarantee of reliability; in argument it guarantees the soundness of the relationship between the support and the claim in the articles produced by English native writers and non-native writers. It allows the readers of the argumentative articles to make the connection between the support and the claim presented.

Chapter II

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Since this discussion is related to argumentation, it presents theories which relate with research object that involve theoretical perspectives and previous studies.

2.1 Writing Argumentative Essays

Argumentative essay becomes one of the prominent and crucial things in this modern era since it holds major role in persuading people's perspective (Langan, 2002). By using argumentative essay, writers may influence or convince other's opinion. Argumentative essay is different from expository essay as it consists of refutation (Wringersky, 1992). It is used to persuade readers to change their mind by supplying data. Argumentative does not comprise preference, faith or belief.

2.2 Elements of Argumentative Essays

This study refers to the theory of argument that is stated by Toulmin (2003). He stated that there are six essential parts of argument such as the claim, the ground or data, the warrant, backing, qualifier, and rebuttal. This study also uses Rotternberg's theory on three elements of argumentative writing, those are claim, support, and warrant (1997).

Rotternberg (1997) called claim as a proposition where the writer's opinion is shaped as their side to make readers agree with the writer's idea. It means that the proposition turns out to be statement that is established to change other's opinion. Rottenberg defines claims turn into three parts; those are claims of fact, claims of value, and claims of policy.

Claims of fact assert that a condition attends based on the facts or data, e.g. *Sumo wrestler is dangerous sport*. While, claims of value assert a condition where some people may like or dislike with something, e.g. *drinking coffee is good for health*. The most claim in newspaper, claims of policy, assert that a condition needs certain policy that should be done e.g. *culture is an in heritage which should be preserved*

The foundation of the claim is called ground. It contains of the data which is used to defend and give support to the claim. It is very prominent since it can measure whether the claim is good or not. Therefore, the ground must be in the form of data and fact.

2.3 Warrant

The warrant has function as a link between the claim and the grounds or support or data. Toulmin (2003) said that the warrant is as a bridge between the claim and the support. He also said that the weakest part of any argument is its weakest warrant. It means that the warrant was prominent to defend the claim and the support to make other people agree with our opinion.

Rottenberg (1997) classified warrant into three types, authoritative, substantive, and motivational. Authoritative warrant is based on the credibility or trustworthiness of the sources. Whereas, substantive warrant is based on beliefs about reliability of factual evidence. Motivational warrant is based on the needs and values of the arguer and the audiences.

As the supplementary support to the warrant, backing is used. While rebuttal is refutation of argument that sometime include a claim, warrant, and backing to convince the statement or argument. Qualifier shows how strength the data to the warrant. It is usually used in advertisement to limit the claim (Toulmin, 2003).

The support as the basis of identifying the type of warrant is also various in the forms. Ramage and Bean mention that the evidence used can be personal experience, research studies, statistics, citing authorities, comparison and analogies,

logical explanation, pointing out consequences, facts, and precisely defining words (in Stapleton, 2001).

2.4 Previous Study

Previous writers present the result of their findings which are mostly related to claims. Sari (2010) has analyzed claims of policy in editorial column of *The New York Times* newspaper. She showed that the writers rarely stated the claims explicitly in their introductory paragraphs. None of the essay used the types of introductory paragraphs such as quotation, question, paradox, definition, and humor. They often used funnel type to give general statement concerning the subject in order to attract readers' attention before coming to the thesis statement.

Yuningsih. (2010) studied on claims of fact in opinion editorial columnist section of *The New York Times on-line newspaper*. She found that the method of the writers to serve the claim are funnel and turn about.

Rusliyah (2011) explored the claims of policy in opinion column of *The Jakarta Post*. The finding of her study illustrated that the writers in opinion column often used funnel type because they wanted to introduce the subject first to the readers to get the reader's attention. The result demonstrated that there are two data which is used chronological order, two data used topical order, and three data used climate orders.

Ansary and Babaii (2009) compare between the editorial texts produced by English native and non-native writers using Halliday and Hasan theory of Generic Structure Potential (GSP) of genre. The result shows no significant difference of the GSP of the texts in English native writers in *The Washington Post* compared to those produced by non-native writers in *The Iran News* and *The Pakistan Today* in whatever socio-cultural and socio-political contexts disseminated.

Based on the result of previous studies above, it can be concluded that those writers found claims in different objects. They give contribution in this study because this study concerns with three kinds of claims analyzed on the types of warrant. In

addition, it compares the warrants produced in different languages, English and Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, all of the previous studies above are prominent for this study as theoretical perspective.

Chapter III

RESEARCH METHOD

In this chapter, the design of the research and the data source are explained. The descriptions on the procedure in collecting and analyzing data are also given in details.

3.1 Research Design

In this study, the writer uses qualitative approach as the interpretive paradigm focusing on the rethorical analysis of the argumentation in article or written material. The concern is to get deep understanding on the types of warrant that is used by the writers in the opinion section of *www.theaustralian.com.au* and *www.seputar-indonesia.com*. Moreover, this study portrays the types of warrant that is used by the authors in every claim such as claim of fact, of value, and of policy. Accordingly, it is called as descriptive qualitative research.

3.2 Data Sources

The data of this study is taken from *www.theaustralian.com.au* and *www.seputar-indonesia.com* in the opinion column. In these two selected publication, the claims in the opinion section present various viewpoints related to the area of social, political, education and socioeconomic issues. The data are taken from the latest publication.

3.3 Procedure of Data Collection

In collecting the data, the data are downloaded from the latest publication in both sites. All of the articles have been clustered in based on the period of time. Then, the articles are read carefully from the first article until the last article to identify the claim. Then, all of the articles are classified into claim of fact, of value, and of policy. Grouping articles which have different topic or theme also becomes one of the processes of collecting the data.

3.4 Data Analysis

In the step of analyzing the data, the first step is identifying the types of warrant in the articles that have been classified into claims of fact, of value, and of policy. During this process, the data is analyzed based on the Rottenberg's theory. Subsequently, discussing the entire articles is done to discover the whole data whether there is any gap or not with the theory. The data reduction is also implemented to see whether the analysis had been completed to the whole data which represent the warrant in the two publications until it reached saturation. Finally, making conclusion is the last step on the process of analyzing the data to understand the types of warrant by using Rottenberg's theory of warrant as the result of this study.

Chapter IV

FINDING & DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of analysis or the finding covering the types of warrant used in the argumentative essays of claim of fact, value, and policy in English and Indonesian argumentation. Furthermore, the discussion is also presented to elaborate the data analysis confirmed with the theories and the related empirical findings.

3.1 Research Findings

In the following analysis, the findings are presented based on the categories, English and Indonesian argumentation. Each of the English and Indonesia argumentation consists of seven articles.

3.1.1 The Warrant in English Argumentation

The data of English argumentation consists of three claims of fact, one claim of value, and three claims of policy. The reduction is made to limit the analysis, therefore the chosen articles are assumed to represent the quality of warrant written in English argumentation. The sequence of data analysis is appropriate with the date of publication.

Datum 1.1: *After these findings, Smith should resign* by Dennis Shanahan (March 8th, 2012)

The claim of this article is stated explicitly that after some findings obtained, Stephen Smith should resign from his position as the Defence Minister. This is a claim of policy since the writer states a new solution to the issue on the sex scandal at the Defence Academy in which Stephen Smith as Defence Minister should be discharged by Australian Defence Force Academy chief. The writer offers some supports to maintain his claim by giving some factual evidences.

As the first support, this article mentioned that Smith has misled to the public concerning sex scandal. It shows the factual evidence which strengthens the claim on the reason to resign him. This support helps the writer in defending his claim because anyone involved in sex scandal should not take part in prestigious board particularly in the Defence Academy. Meanwhile, the connection between the claim and this support is that the Smith's misleading to the public concerning sex scandal brought him to the risk of getting the consequence to resign. This warrant is a substantive warrant since it consists of the factual evidence which is reliable to support the claim.

The second support in the article is on the sex scandal allegations concerning seven male cadets at the Canberra military campus in the last April. It gives the strong backing to the claim; that Smith should resign since the sex scandal allegations involved the cadets at the Canberra military campus recently. It is a substantive warrant because it shows the reliability of factual evidence that happen in the last April concerning sex scandal.

The third support is that Smith wrongly interfered in the military justice system. The connection between the claim and the support is Smith wrongly interfered in the military justice system therefore he should resign because the military justice should be hold fairly not interfered by any interest. This is categorized

as a substantive warrant due to the fact that it shows the factual evidence. It also presents the cause-effect relationship which Smith's interference in the military justice system becomes a strong reason why he should resign.

All in all, this article has three supports which give strong evidence to the claim. All of the supports are substantive warrant to connect the support and the claim. Consequently, in defending the claim, the writer forms the support in the form of factual evidence to elaborate his claim by pointing out consequences on the cause-effect relationship as the bases to the policy proposed.

Datum 1.2: *Bill on illegal logging could trigger trade dispute with Jakarta* by Peter Alford (March 12th, 2012)

In this article, the claim is stated explicitly by the writer that is the bill on illegal logging could trigger trade dispute with Jakarta. It is called as claim of policy since there is specific policy that should be done as a solution to the problem. The specific policy is that Indonesian government wants Australia to postpone the bill on illegal logging. In the introductory paragraph, the writer gives background information about the issue on the bill of illegal logging and tells that the Indonesians need proper consultation and clarification of the products which covered by bill on illegal logging.

It is very clearly explained that the writer uses opinions, ideas, and factual data to support his claim. He offers some supports that declare the disagreement of Indonesian toward bill on illegal logging. He provides some examples to prove his argument which is used to give statement about the disagreement of Indonesian. In this article, the connection between the claim and its supports are connected well. The data given by the writer can help his claim to defend the opinions. From the supports given by the writer, those give perfect proof that bill on illegal logging will damage trade with Indonesia.

As the first support, Indonesians are suspicious that the bill is disguised industry protection and will be used to target their \$390 million a year timber products exports to Australia. This support is a kind of reason that Indonesians do not agree on the bill of illegal logging by asking to postpone it. Therefore, the warrant is the bill on illegal logging could trigger trade dispute with Jakarta because Indonesians are suspicious that the bill is disguised industry protection and exports to Australia. Finally, it is an authoritative warrant since the data given by the writer are credible and trustworthy. It can be proven by the explanation on the target products exports to Australia in the form of number provided by trustworthy sources.

As the second support, the text mentions that the bill is set to impose restrictions on timber products from a limited number of targeted countries. This support sustains the claim since the existence of the bill will influence the timber products. Therefore, the warrant is the bill is set to impose restrictions on timber products from a limited number of targeted countries which could trigger trade dispute with Jakarta. From the connection of both the claim and support, it can be concluded as an authoritative warrant since it is based on reliable source. The writer has the support based on the letter which is written by Mr. Gita in January 25th to the Senate standing committee. Therefore, it is mentioned as authoritative warrant which gives credible source.

The text mentions the third support that the legislation will be utilised to protect high-cost domestic industries. This support also becomes one of the reasons for Indonesians to postpone the bill on illegal logging. The bill will give benefit for domestic industries for example Australia's sawmilling and wood processing. Thus, the warrant belongs to an authoritative warrant because the support is based on trustworthy and credible source. The writer adds that the Australia's sawmilling and wood processing are the world's costliest. This is the credible source since this is based on the fact.

The fourth support mentions that Canberra will be under pressure to use the new law against imported products. This support explained that there are some products such as domestic paper and cardboard manufacturers, meanwhile unions, environmentalists and affected communities make Canberra feels suppressed. This reason gives support to the claim concerning the bill on illegal logging. Therefore, Canberra will be under pressure to use the new law against imported products which becomes an effect of the bill on illegal logging. This part belongs to motivational warrant since the effect of the bill on illegal logging will influence Canberra. It is based on the needs and values of the arguers and audience. It is expected the audience or readers will agree with this statement because the fact that the bill on illegal logging will make Canberra under pressure.

In brief, this article consists of four supports which belong to warrants. Three supports are categorized as authoritative warrant then one support is motivational warrant. It can be said that defending the claim needs good supports which are provided by data, statistic, and evidence. In this article, the writer uses data to give proof and the example to the reader. Therefore, the result is that the writer uses authoritative warrant mostly in the support to show the credibility and trustworthy to the reader concerning with his statement on the proposed policy.

Datum 1.3: *Campbell Newman must clean up state finances* by Henry Ergas (March 26th, 2012).

The claim of this article is stated explicitly that Campbell Newman must clean up state finances. This claim is a claim of policy, since the writer is proposing a new policy for the new Queensland government. Campbell Newman, as head of the Queensland government, is responsible for determining government policy. In addition, the article refers to the challenges in facing the new Queensland government. According to the author, the new Queensland government must clean up

state finances as the legacy of 14 years of Labor government, improve state infrastructure, and deliver on its ambitious election promises.

As the first support, the text mentions that the capacity utilisation in Brisbane's rail and bus systems is barely 50 per cent of best practice. This support indicates that it maintains the claim to renew the rail and bus systems for cleaning up state finances. Therefore, this refers to motivational warrant since the writer invokes the values the audience regard as being important. The shared values of both the writer and the readers are based on their needs.

The second support mentioned is that tighter cost control must be a priority. This support makes the claim more soundness since controlling tighter cost must be a priority to clean up state finances. Therefore, the warrant appears to be a motivational warrant because it offers the needs and values of both the arguer and audience. The writer wants to give advice to the Campbell Newman as a new government while the audience will regard this opinion as important.

The third support shows improving quality of spending which should be accompanied by efforts to enhance the efficiency of the state's revenue base. This support gives powerful support to the claim that the new government should accomplish the finance cleaning up by firstly enhancing the revenue base. This is a motivational warrant since it is based on the needs and values of both the arguer and audience. The writer uses his own values by giving alternative way for new government in cleaning up state's finances.

The fourth support proposed is that the new government should put in place structures along the lines of infrastructure NSW (support 4). This support maintains the claim concerning cleaning up state finances. Thus, the warrant is Campbell Newman must clean up state finances which should be done by putting in place structures along the lines of the infrastructure in New South Wales. This is a

motivational warrant since it includes the values of the writer, who is giving advice to the new government.

The fifth support mentions that the ensure investment decisions are based on transparent, rigorous cost-benefit evaluation. It gives support to the claim that ensuring investment can clean up state's finances. As it is based on the needs and values of the writer as well as their audience, this warrant is motivational.

The sixth support states that the new government should at least offset the resulting losses by restructuring electricity charges. This support maintains the claim that Campbell Newman should offset the resulting losses as another way to clean up state finance. This is a motivational warrant because the writer stated the values to the audience who will regard it as an important policy to be made.

The seventh support is on the Liberal National Party or LNP's promise to significantly raise the threshold for payroll tax that will narrow it further. This is the last support in the text which supports the claim by giving alternative way to clean up Queensland's finances. As a result, the warrant is Campbell Newman must clean up state finances by raising the threshold for payroll tax. This is a motivational warrant since it is based on the needs and values of the arguer. The writer gives the needs that are needed to cover the problem.

In summary, this article consists of seven supports, all of which are appealing to the needs and values of the arguer. All of the supports are motivational warrants, as they are based on the needs and values of writer and the audience so that the policy proposed can be well accepted.

Datum 1.4: *The rot extends to federal labor* by Peter van Onselen (March 27th, 2012)

The writer of this article shows the claim explicitly by stating that Queensland labor's problems extend to the federal party. The claim is presented in the first sentence, thus it is easy and clear to be understood. This claim is classified into a claim of fact since a condition regarding Queensland labor's problems has existed. It is also proven based on the data or facts that are verifiable. This article talks about Queensland labor's problems which enlarge to the federal party. In defending his claim, the writer provides some data.

The text mentions the first support that the government of Anna Bligh picked up 26.9 per cent of primary vote whereas Julia Gillard would have received just 28 per cent primary support if a federal election were held last weekend. This data give the support to the claim that it is one of the Queensland labor's problems. Newspoll said Julia Gillard's government would have received low support if the federal election were held earlier. Thus, it becomes a big debate between Queensland labor to the federal party since the election was held on Saturday. Therefore, the correlation between the claim and support is Queensland labor's problems extend to the federal party. Finally, the article exploits the authoritative warrant as the type of warrant since the support is from trustworthy and credible source indicated by the percentage given as the fact of the result of primary vote.

As the second support, labor optimists will cling to the margin of error as the explanation for the three percentage points drop in primary support and the four point worsening in labor's two-party vote. This support shows the rot of labor in primary performance that labor faces drop and gets worsening in their two-party vote. It indicates that labor problems are the worst therefore the writer asks to Newspoll to end the problems. The warrant is Queensland Labor's problems extend to the federal

party which is caused by labor being optimistic to cling to the margin of error for the three percentage points drop in the vote. It is an authoritative warrant since the support proves the number of points in the form of percentage. Therefore, the data are credible and trustworthy sources.

The text mentions the third support that the labor vote and its brand is in the same downward direction because of poor polls, poor electoral result and a brutal leadership showdown. This support indicates that the labor's get worsening is in the same downward direction with the federal party which is caused by poor polls, poor electoral result and a brutal leadership. It is a motivational warrant since it is based on the values of the writer and also it is relevant to the claim. It will give effect to the readers to agree with the values of the arguer on the worsening condition of both parties.

As the fourth support, the two next Newspolls have seen the labor vote fall to 31 and now 28 per cent. This support indicates the descent of labor vote which is demonstrated by the lowering percentage which might extend problems to the federal party. This warrant is classified into an authoritative warrant because the writer uses percentage to show the credible data. The writer applies the percentage of a sum of voting which can be proven as credible statistical data. The percentage of voting is a trustworthy source since the writer applies the exact number of percentage from the Newspann.

To sum up, this article has four supports, three of which are classified into the authoritative warrant and one of them is a motivational warrant. Most of the warrants are included into authoritative warrant because the writer serves the support by giving credible source. For instance, showing the number of percentage and giving numeral data. This rhetorical aspects are meant to convince the readers to view the phenomenon raised similarly with the writer's perspective.

Datum 1.5: *Libs should fall in line as PM takes on China* by Greg Sheridan (March 30th, 2012)

This article stated the claim that Julia Gillard is in conflict with the Chinese Foreign Minister. It is included as a claim of fact since it is factual information which asserts the condition that happen between Julia Gillard and Chinese Foreign Minister. This article talks about unusual diplomatic situation on the decision to ban Huawei from participating in the National broadband Network.

As the first support, Gillard has behaved impeccably on Huawei. This support indicates that Gillard's behavior has made gap with the Chinese until they have a conflict. This evidence supports the claim that both of Gillard and Chinese Foreign Minister have a conflict. This is a substantive warrant since this warrant uses factual evidence that can be justified. It is also cause-effect argument in which based on Gillard's behavior makes negative effect to her relation with Chinese.

The second support concerns with Chinese Foreign Ministry who has demanded Australia to provide a level playing field and treat Huawei companies fairly but the claim is not happening with Huawei. This support strengthens the claim since it appears the fluctuation of the conflict between Chinese Foreign Minister and Gillard. This is a substantive warrant since it is based on the reliability of factual evidence. This condition also becomes the cause why Gillard has a conflict with the Chinese Foreign Minister.

As the third support, Beijing claims Canberra is treating the investment unfairly. This support offers that Australia has treated the investment unfairly as assumed by China which raises the conflict of both countries. This is a substantive warrant because it is based on the reliability of factual evidence that can be justified.

The fourth support mentioned in the text is on Beijing opposing Australia to have alliances with other countries. This is the last support which shows the anger of China to Australia. This belongs to a substantive warrant since it is based on the factual evidence that happen at that moment.

In summary, this article consists of four supports which entirely belong to substantive warrant. They provide the factual evidence to convince the audience in which can be justified. The factual evidences given are in the form of some political facts and the writer's pointing out consequences on the cause-effect relation to support reader's understanding on the writer's viewpoint.

Datum 1.6: *Living on the edge* by Phillip Adams (March 31st, 2012)

The writer asserts the claim of this article implicitly that is living in a gorgeous place is not always nice as it is not safe. It is claim of value due to its attempt to establish that something is better than others. The writer utilizes funnel in introductory paragraph in the essay. The writer uses funnel since he wants to furnish the general and background information to the readers on living in place foredoomed to flood or fire. This article shows the risk live in places which have risk to flood and fire. The writer gives detail information regarding the places which are dangerous by giving examples and evidences.

The first support is that living in a Heidelberg School landscape is romantic but foggy. This is the first support that gives pillar to the claim in the form of value of the arguer. Throughout this support, he offers that San Francisco is a romantic place but it is not always nice since it is foggy. This is a motivational warrant due to the fact that it is based on the value shared by the writer. The audience will regard this opinion as important since not all beautiful places are good for health, consequently the audience will accept it as important value.

The second support mentions that living in rich soils villages are tranquillity but drowsy volcano is intimidating. This support proposes the danger of a beautiful place with its peace and comfort for instance intimidated by drowsy volcano. Thus, the warrant is living in gorgeous places with rich soils might not be safe since drowsy volcano is intimidating. This is a motivational warrant since the opinion offered by the writer is a value. The audience will regard that value because they agree that drowsy volcano is a hazard matter. Finally, this warrant leads the audience to accept the claim that have been stated by giving the values.

The writer mentions the third support that dangerous places are often very beautiful, very fertile or lots of fun. The unsafety living in a beautiful place is proven by the writer's elucidating that dangerous place provides lots of attraction. For that reason, the warrant as a motivational warrant offers the value to make the audiences have the same opinion with the writer.

In short, this article consists of three supports which entirely employ motivational warrant since the writer gives priority to the values and needs of the audience. The values shared are in the form of facts, comparison and analogies and pointing out consequences. As the evaluative argument, the use of the value shared is to convince readers that they need to have similar standard in viewing the phenomenon presented.

Datum 1.7: *Aussie leave US bloke behind in their recovery from the GFC* by George Megalogenis (April 21st, 2012)

This article states the claim explicitly that Aussies leave US blokes behind in their recovery from the GFC (Global Financial Crisis). This is a claim of fact because this is factual information that has existed based on the condition. It talks about employee in US and Aussie which US blokes left behind from Aussie in their recovery from the GFC.

The first support mentions that labor attain at 4.4 per cent. This support shows the reason behind the claim that Aussie leave US blokes behind because the Aussie's Labor attain 4.4 per cent higher than US. This is an authoritative warrant since this warrant provides the trustworthiness and credible of source which is indicated by the number of percentage. This percentage is based the data of labor in March 2007. Therefore, it is categorized as authoritative warrant.

The writer mentions the second support that five years later the Australian-born is at 70 per cent whereas American white male has fallen to 68.8 per cent. The writer provides this support to defend the claim and make it stronger. For these reasons, Aussies leaving US blokes behind in their financial recovery as the Australian-born is much higher. This is a substantive warrant because the writer provides the factual evidence that will happen five years later. Based on this statistical percentage, the evidence can be predicted in five years.

The third support shows that Australia has created extra 5.3 per cent more jobs for its local-born blokes while America 4.5 per cent. This support talks about the jobs that can be provided by Australia for its local-born blokes therefore, this rate is capable for leaving US blokes. Hence, Australia has created higher extra jobs for its local-born blokes more than America. This is an authoritative warrant since it is based on the credibility or trustworthiness of the source which is shown by the percentages given.

In conclusion, this article has three supports; two of them are categorized as authoritative warrant since they offer the credible and trustworthiness sources. While, another one is a substantive warrant because it supplies the factual evidence. By exposing the evidence more in the form of facts and statistical data, the writer expects that the readers can get the same viewpoint in undersanding the phenomenon presented in the claim of fact.

3.1.2 The Warrant in Indonesian Argumentation

The data of Indonesian argumentation consists of two claims of fact, three claims of value, and two claims of policy. The reduction is made to limit the analysis, therefore the chosen articles are assumed to represent the quality of warrant written in Indonesian argumentation. The sequence of data analysis is appropriate with the date of publication.

Datum 2.1: *Mereposisi Ujian Nasional* by Biyanto (May 2nd, 2012)

The claim of this article is not stated explicitly in the beginning of the article as the writer describes in detail the phenomenon of National Exam in which has become a debatable issue of Indonesian education system. The need to change the function of the National Exam is mentioned after the exploration of the progress of its administration throughout the nation. As the writer proposes a better viewpoints in the way to put right the function of the exam, the claim raises in this text belongs to claim of policy.

As the first support, this article mentioned the fact on failure in administering the National Exam in some areas as reported by the Indonesian Corruption Watch. Some junior high school students got the answer key of Mathematics items especially those located in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi. It shows the authoritative warrant which is based on the credible sources namely the ICW as the board to report the factual evidence of improper practice in society to support the betterment in all aspects including education. It strengthens the claim on the reason to change the function of the National Exam.

Some other evidences are presented to show the factual supports of the issue to change the function of the National Exam. *First*, the exam seemed to be used for

the practices of dishonesty performed by not only students who cheat but also the teachers and the test proctors who work together to ignore or even support the students who cheat. *Second*, the exam has been also used for the campaign to promote the image of some public figures when the score achieved by the students reach the target. *Third*, the preparation for the exam has included not only normal but also abnormal practices such as unrealistic rituals conducted by students in graveyards for the success or passing the exam. As the *fourth* factual support, the text mentions the budget reaching billions rupiah for administering the exam. The fact ending the text as the *fifth* factual support mentions that almost all schools prioritize the exam so that it dominates the whole education practices. These factual evidences support the claim as the basic reason of the need to change the function of National Exam. The readers are brought to the beliefs about reliability of factual evidence presented by the writer. Therefore, the substantive warrants are employed more in this text.

Beside the factual supports, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the need to change the function of the National exam using values. That the National Exam has subsequently become a political product, it will certainly require longer time to be totally erased. This statement becomes the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rethorical strategy to convince readers by accepting the proposed policy deals with focusing more on the use of substantive warrant. Five from seven supports employ the factual evidence to help readers understand the reason behind the need to follow the policy proposed. The claim is also strengthened by an authoritative warrant an a motivational warrant to emphasize what to believe and what the basis of the belief is.

Datum 2.2: *Verifikasi Parpol yang Objektif dan Adil* by Jeffrie Geovanie (September 10th, 2012)

The claim of this article is stated explicitly in the beginning of the article that all of the political parties including the old and the new ones have to be verified by the General Election Commission. This asserts that a condition is true regarding the need to verify the political parties as part of the preparation for the general election. This description belongs to claim of fact as the writer intends to share the similar viewpoint concerning the fact preceding the general election.

As the first support, this article mentioned the fact on the policy issued by the Constituent Assembly which shows the authority as the nation institution to uphold the principle of justice. Formerly, the old parties whose members have participated in the parliament are not have to be verified. However with this decision, there will be similar treatment to all parties as the consequence. This statement belongs to substantive factual supports. In addition, this text also mentions another factual evidence on the high number of the political party which brings about another difficulty for the people to vote for. These substantive warrants strengthen the claim on the reason why all the political parties have to be verified.

Another evidence is presented to show the factual supports of the issue to verify the parties. The text mentions the fact on the process of establishing the political institution completed after the transition process in Indonesian politic since May 1998. This historical fact belongs to the authoritative warrant which is based on the credible source shown by the historical evidence presented by the writer.

Beside using the substantive and authoritative warrants, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the need to verify all of the political parties using some shared values. *First*, the writer wants the readers to believe that a political party has the right to join the general election only after being verified in

objective, fair and transparent way. *Second*, the number of the political party should be made minimum for enabling the party to gain bigger vote for president. And *third*, the verification process is an attempt to identify the main objectives of the parties joining the election. All of these statements become the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rethorical strategy to convince readers to understand the true phenomenon deciphered deals with the use of the three types of warrants. Out of six supports, three supports belong to motivational warrant, two supports belong to substantive warrant and the last one is authoritative warrant. All of the supports given employ the factual evidence in the form of historical fact, statistic on the number of party, logical explanation and the writer's pointing out consequences. These evidences are used to help readers understand the reason behind the fact on the need to verify all the political parties.

Datum 2.3: *Belajar dari Piagam Madinah* by Kuncoro Probojati (September 10th, 2012)

The claim of this article is not stated explicitly in the beginning of the article as the writer describes the background of the Indonesian characteristic as an archipelago country with the diversity as its richness. The writer raises the claim on the value of keeping the peace within the country which has big conflict risk for its diversity. Therefore, he proposes the Madinah Pledge as an ideal model for keeping the peace of a country.

As the first support, this article mentioned the fact on the racial conflicts which have been severe wound of the nation. This historical evidence becomes the substantive warrant used by the writer to strengthen the claim.

Beside using the substantive warrant, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the need to learn from the Madinah Pledge by using some shared values. *First*, the pledge is to accommodate the interests of the majority and the minority. It would bring the spirit of togetherness and unity without any gaps. *Second*, the government has not been consistent in implementing Pancasila as the five prominent pillars for the best practice of good governance. In addition the country has been failed in creating the feeling of secured for the citizens, especially those of the minority groups. These two statements become the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rhetorical strategy to convince readers by accepting the proposed value deals with focusing more on the use of motivational warrant. Two from three supports employ the motivational warrant presented by the values shared to emphasize what to believe and what the basis of the belief is. The evidence involves historical fact to convince readers on the belief.

Datum 2.4: *Kekuatan Arus Bawah* by Mohamad Sobary (September 10th, 2012)

The claim of this article is not stated explicitly in the beginning of the article as the writer describes the situation preceding the governor election of Jakarta province. As the writer shares his evaluation on the movement of the grassroots, the claim raises in this text belongs to claim of value.

This article mentions the fact of the improper practices in Jakarta governance shown by the disorder in the financial management reported by Prijanto, the former vice governor in his book entitled "Mengapa Saya Mundur". This evidence belongs to the authoritative warrant as it is based on the credible source to strengthen the claim on the underlying reason for the grassroots movement.

As the other supports, this article mentioned the belief or shared values related with the governor election. *First*, the people of Jakarta have been the motor of the grassroot movement who show their hidden anger. They apparently build stronger political solidarity. *Second*, the people really understand their being underpressure as they were used only for the political interest of some parties. *Third*, there is no figure for the people to rely on, to take example from, or to ask for protection. In addition, there is no figure who talk about the use of power as the mechanism to improve the people's welfare. Here, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the need to believe that the grassroot movement has appeared through the shared values. These statements become the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rethorical strategy to convince readers by accepting the proposed belief is by employing more motivational warrant and one authoritative warrant. This choice is made to emphasize what to believe and what the basis of the belief is. The form of the evidences are historical fact with some logical explanation as the reflection and completed with the writer's pointing out consequences.

Datum 2.5: *Islam Aswaja Melawan Terorisme* by Said Aqil Siradj (September 10th, 2012)

The claim of this article is not stated explicitly in the beginning of the article as the writer describes the phenomenon of the increasing issue on terrorism currently in some regions of Indonesia. As the writer explores more on the attempts made to overcome the terrorism issue especially those made by Islam Aswaja, the claim raised in this text belongs to claim of fact.

As the first support, this article mentioned the fact on the existence of Islam Aswaja throughout its historical track established since the era of the Nine Walis until the modern era. *First*, the terrorism was started by the radical schools which are potential to drive the puritan fundamentalist to be terrorists. *Second*, the ulama as the religious pillar of Aswaja holds the crucial role to strengthen the bond of the united nation. *Third*, Islam Aswaja implements the religious practices which integrate between the textual Islamic teachings and the local context with the religious life wisdom for a better substantive political orientation and perspectives. Through these evidences, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the true phenomenon of Islam Aswaja. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to substantive warrant.

Beside using the substantive warrants, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his claim by using values. The writer proposes that the teachings of Aswaja is flexible, not rigid, nor exclusive or elitical and it does not concern with the quo-status. This statement becomes the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rethorical strategy to convince readers and accept his proposed value concerns with the use of substantive and motivational warrants. More substantive warrants are used to emphasize on the historical evidence, logical explanation, and pointing out consequence in relying on the belief.

Datum 2.6: *Persiapan PON* (September 10th, 2012)

The claim of this article is stated explicitly in the beginning of the article

as the writer describes the preparation of the biggest sport event in Indonesia namely PON which is considered terrible. The claim raises in this text belongs to claim of fact.

As the first support, this article mentioned the fact on the existing unprepared facilities for the PON athletes. It is worsened by the awful management. There was an incidence where two victims got injured by the destroyed ceilings of the tennis venue. The writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the mess of PON preparation by using factual evidence. This statement belongs to substantive warrant.

Beside using substantive warrant, the claim is supported by authoritative warrant. It mentions the similar problem faced in the preparation of 26th SEA Games in Palembang, South Sumatra in 2011. This evidence is based on credible source.

To support the claim of fact, the writer elaborates his argument by sharing some values. *First*, it is clear that the main problem deals with the terrible and awful management. *Second*, It needs high commitment and integrity of the government and the whole related stake holders to fix the management system totally. These statements become the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition on the facts evaluated. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rethorical strategy to convince readers and understand the phenomenon behind the facts covers the three types of warrant namely substantive, authoritative and motivational warrants. The evidences used to emphasize on the need to understand the phenomenon involve some forms such as logical explanation, pointing out consequences and comparison.

Datum 2.7: *Menata Sektor Keuangan* by Ahmad Erani Yustika (September 28th, 2012)

The claim of this article is stated explicitly in the beginning of the article as the writer describes that a significant variable to carefully take care of is the financial sector to accelerate the economic progress. As the writer elaborates the factual phenomenon on the socioeconomic issue presented, the claim raised in this text belongs to claim of fact.

There are numerous supports with factual evidences employed in this article. *First*, the World Bank has currently published the report entitled “Global Financial Development Report 2013: Rethinking the Role of the State in Finance”. This means that reorganizing the financial sector needs the state’s interference. *Second*, it helps creating a conducive economic macro environment in accord with the finding of some studies. *Third*, there are some steps to develop the financial sector as proposed by a reference cited by the writer. *Fourth*, out of 121 banks in Indonesia the government only have 10 banks. *Fifth*, Indonesia has low credit 29% in 2010 compared to other countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam and China which have reached above 100%. *Sixth*, the efficiency of banks is also at risk in the level of 85% compared to ASEAN countries which only range in 40-60%. Through the evidences here, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument on the reason underkying the organizing of financial sector using factual evidences from credible sources. These statements therefore belong to the warrant given by the credible source as authoritative warrants.

Beside using the authoritative warrants, the writer elaborates the claim by strengthening his argument by using values. He proposes that the aspect to fix in the

stage of enabling environment covers some policies on financial sector. This statement become the shared values of the writer as the arguer who believes that the readers would agree with his proposition. In this case, the warrant given by this support belongs to motivational warrant.

To sum up, the writer's rethorical strategy to convince readers in understanding the phenomenon given is by exposing authoritative warrants and using a motivational warrant. The use of the various evidences such as research studies, citing authorities, comparison and analogies, statistics and facts is to emphasize on the reader's understanding the clear picture of the phenomenon presented in the claim of fact given.

3.2 Discussion

Based on the data analysis that has been presented in the finding above, this following discussion shapes the problems formulated in chapter one that refers to the types of warrants used in the argumentative essays of claim of fact, claim of value, and claim of policy in both English and Indonesian publications.

3.2.1 The Types of Warrant Used in the Argumentative essays of Claim of Fact

In the argumentative essays, warrant is one of the elements which relates between the claim and the support. It can act as a bridge between the claim and the support (Toulmin 2003). The claim is called claim of fact whenever it covers a condition or situation based on factual information that exist, has existed, and will exist (Rottenberg, 1997). In both English and Indonesian publications, the claims of fact chosen are those involving the factual information on the existing situation related primarily with current political issues (data 1.4; 1.5; 1.7; and 2.2) and social issues (data 2.5 and 2.6). Those are asserted with the data in the form of statistical,

percentage, and numbers. Since, many articles talk about political issues, they need factual information to convince the readers.

Rottenberg (1997) stated that authoritative warrant is based on the credibility or trustworthiness of the sources. She also asserted that substantive warrant is based on beliefs about the reliability of factual evidence. The last, motivational warrant is based on the needs and values of the arguer and the audiences.

In the English argumentation, authoritative and substantive warrants are found mostly in the claims of fact since it is based on factual information in which the characteristics of the authoritative warrant are credible and trustworthy. In addition, it is also supported by reliable factual evidence as the characteristics of substantive warrant. Only one support belongs to motivational warrant.

In the Indonesian argumentation, different proportion of warrant is found. The substantive and motivational warrants dominate more than the use of authoritative warrant. It refers to the intention of the writer to share the values or beliefs with the readers so that the similar perception on the fact presented can be achieved through the use of motivational warrant. While, the substantive warrants help the writer to convince the readers through various types of evidence employed such as statistics, research studies, comparison and analogies, logical explanation, writer's pointing out consequences, and historical facts.

3.2.2 The Types of Warrant Used in the Argumentative essays of Claim of Value

Another type of claim that has been stated by Rottenberg (1997) is claim of value which suppress on the situation where some people may agree or disagree with the statement that is stated. Claim of value also asserts that a condition where some people may like or dislike with something, people thing something is better than others. People's values are not always the same. According to the one might ask,

some things are better or worse than others. The claims of value always deal with judgment by giving approval or disapproval about action, belief, or condition (Rottenberg, 1997). The claim of value constructed in English argumentation concerns with social issue (datum 1.6), while in Indonesian argumentation deals with social issue (datum 2.3) and political issue (datum 2.4).

Based on the result of findings of the types of warrant that has been identified in the claim of value in English obtained one type of warrant that is motivational warrant (datum 1.6). The finding shows only motivational warrant since the claim of value does not need authoritative and substantive warrants. Yet, it needs motivational warrant which contains the values and needs both of the writers and audience in giving a new statement.

This finding is in line with Rottenberg (1997) who explained that motivational warrant is based on the needs and values of the arguer and the audience. This warrant provides the preference of each individual to have their own values. No other types of warrant are found in this claim since this claim wants to present motivational warrant as the supporting data.

On the other hand, the data of Indonesian argumentation show that the use of motivational warrant also dominates the rethorical strategy and it is supported by another type of warrant namely substantive warrant (datum 2.3) and authoritative warrant (datum 2.4). This is done to eliminate the degree of subjectivity proposed in evaluating the phenomenon given.

3.2.3 The Types of Warrant Used in the Argumentative essays of Claim of Policy

The last claim is claim of policy that has been stated by Rottenberg (1997). She argued that claims of policy show a new solution from the problems occurred. Claims of policy are always followed implicitly, by '*should*', '*ought to*' or '*must*'.

Claims of policy assert that a condition needs certain policy that should be done. In English publication, the claim of policy is presented on political issue (datum 1.1) and on socio-economic issues (data 1.2 and 1.3). In Indonesian argumentation, it is constructed on education issue (datum 2.1) and socio-economic issue (datum 2.7).

Furthermore, the finding of the types of warrant in the claim of policy in English is dominated by substantive and motivational warrants since the writers want to give their idea by giving values and the needs supported by sufficient factual evidences. The writers show their new solutions and policies to the problems and thereby the use of substantive and motivational warrant enables the writers to convince the readers.

Meanwhile the Indonesian argumentation shows different finding. The motivational warrant is rarely found. The writers make use of substantive and authoritative warrants more to convince the readers on the need to accept the proposed policy.

The finding of this research to some extent establishes different viewpoints compared to the related studies mentioned in the previous chapter. While Sari (2010) showed that the writers rarely stated the claims explicitly in their introductory paragraphs, this research found that in both English and Indonesian publication some writers state their claims explicitly. The explicit claims are made especially those on claim of fact and policy. Meanwhile in claims of value, the writers rarely state it.

While Yuningsih (2010) found in the claims of fact that the method of the writers to serve the claim are funnel and turn about, this research focuses not on the way the claim is introduced but more on the way it is strengthened by the supports to construct warrant. Rusliyah (2011) explored the claims of policy which demonstrated the use of chronological order, topical order, and climate orders of the data, while this research concerns more on the type of data used as evidence in the support. The

writers in English and Indonesian argumentation employ various types of evidence to strengthen claims of policy such as pointing out consequences, logical explanation, statistics, research studies, comparison and analogies, citing authorities, and historical facts. Looking into the study of Ansary and Babaii (2009) which shows no different Generic Structure Potential of genre in L1 and L2, this study found that to some extent difference exists in the proportion of warrant types in both languages.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION & SUGGESTION

As the final part of this research report, the conclusion is drawn from the result of finding and discussion. The suggestion related with the implication inferred by the finding is also given.

5.1 CONCLUSION

Based on the data analysis on the English and Indonesian argumentation, the types of warrant constructed are various according to the type of claim presented.

To strengthen the claims of fact, English writers show authoritative and substantive warrants as they emphasize on the factual information from trustworthy source used to convince readers. Meanwhile Indonesian writers tend to strengthen their claims by substantive and motivational warrants. It refers to the intention of the writer to share the values or beliefs with the readers so that the similar perception on the fact presented can be achieved.

In constructing the support for claims of value, almost similar result shown by both English and Indonesian writers that is the domination of motivational warrant. The writers share the values or beliefs with the readers to make them evaluate the issue from similar angle and viewpoint. Yet, Indonesian writers add the motivational warrant with a few authoritative or substantive warrant to make the evaluation less subjective.

The writers attempt to strengthen the claims of policy shows different tendency in English and Indonesian. In English, the writers show the use of substantive and motivational warrants. Meanwhile the Indonesian writers make use of substantive and authoritative warrants more than the use of motivational warrant to convince the readers on the need to accept the proposed policy.

5.2 SUGGESTION

The findings of this research is expected to be meaningful for readers and future researchers as it offers the empirical evidence on the different types of warrant employed by English and Indonesian writers. Those interested in rethorical studies are expected to dig more on the critical discourse analysis on the different warrant accross different languages. In addition, teachers of critical writing are recommended to use the findings of the research as a model in how to deconstruct the idea of the writers in the form of warrant, through analyzing the types of evidence to support strengthening the claims. And finally, the future researchers should elaborate more on the issue of comparative rethorical strategies of L1 and L2 argumentation within different context, types of issue presented and different form of publication.

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APPENDICES

Researchers' Biodata & CV

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Current Researches

- Individual research project: *Communicating Critical Thinking through Bilingual Reflective Writing* (2012)
- Individual research project: *Stabilized Errors in Argumentative Essay Writing: Learners' Perspective* (2010)
- Participatory Action Research *Pendampingan Autonomus Learning bagi Remaja Masjid Shiratal Jannah Merjosari Malang* (2010)

Books & Journal

- *Second Language Research and Pedagogy*, UM Press (2012)
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1.1 After These Findings, Smith Should Resign

THE findings of the inquiry into the sex scandal at the defence academy, even in their distilled version, lay the groundwork for credible demands that Stephen Smith resign as Defence Minister.

Smith has been shown to have acted in such a way as to betray faith with the defence force, and to have misled the public while attempting to exploit for political gain a case of alleged sexual abuse.

The outcome of the inquiry demonstrates that Smith acted erroneously and in haste, misled the public about what was happening last April after the allegations concerning seven male cadets at the Canberra military campus, continued to mislead the public yesterday and wrongly interfered in the military justice system.

Even in the face of the findings of Rod Kirkham QC, which exonerated Australian Defence Force Academy chief Bruce Kafer, Smith could not bring himself to admit he erred, or offer an apology to a senior military officer whose career has been publicly blighted and put on hold for almost a year.

From the moment Smith decided to go public in response to reports of the sex case, his actions were guided by political gain and media manipulation.

As Defence Minister, Smith co-ordinated his public appearance to field questions about the academy to blot out a press conference by then foreign minister Kevin Rudd. The timing of the press conference was about giving prominence to the sex scandal in the 24-hour news cycle over Rudd's remarks about the dumping of the emissions trading scheme in 2010. While that was cynical enough, it was the substance of Smith's remarks at the press conference and subsequent media appearances that condemn his behaviour as a minister.

Last April, Smith endorsed "cadet Kate" going to the Ten Network to plead her case because she did not believe she was getting a fair hearing or a proper investigation, and then made a series of claims about Kafer and Defence that he said "coloured" the handling of the Skype sex scandal.

The decision to hear previous cases of discipline breaches by the female cadet were "inappropriate, insensitive and wrong" and "a serious error of judgment", Smith said. It was "not just unfortunate, it's deeply invidious" and "somewhere between being completely insensitive and completely stupid". He said Kafer and Defence were responsible and, as a "lapsed lawyer", he offered the legal opinion that the other disciplinary actions were "faulty in law" and should be dealt with again.

In relation to allegations of vilification against Kate, Smith said his advice was that most were denied, but he confirmed there was "an instance of vilification, ie smearing her door" and that "I made it public her door had been sprayed with shaving cream".

Smith implied it was his legal expertise that had resulted in Defence returning to the Australian Federal Police for a second view on whether the filming of the sexual intercourse had broken commonwealth law. In fact, the second referral to the AFP had already been ordered by Defence.

After receiving the Kirkham report in December, and a Defence recommendation to re-instate Kafer before the ADFA academic year began, Smith let the recommended schedule lapse.

Yesterday we found the report exonerated Kafer, did not find the parallel disciplinary action "coloured" the proceedings, found it was "reasonable" to proceed with the disciplinary hearings and that there was no "error of judgment". It said there was no vilification or plastering with shaving foam.

Yet Smith refused to resile from his attacks on Kafer, and said: "At the time these allegations were made, I said I had advice or strong advice to the contrary."

Kafer was stood aside last year as a compromise on Smith's demands to sack him. In the meantime, Kafer has sought independent legal advice, and Smith is refusing to release the Kirkham report for legal reasons.

If it hadn't been for the guts and integrity of the then chief of the defence force, Angus Houston, this whole episode could have been much worse for Defence. As it is, it's a low point for Smith as Defence Minister, and offers voters a reasonable explanation as to why he wanted to go back to foreign affairs.

1.2 Bill on Illegal Logging Could Trigger Trade Dispute with Jakarta

THE Indonesian government wants Australia to defer its contentious Illegal Logging Prohibition Bill for three years to allow "proper consultation" and clarification of the products it covers.

The legislation, yet to pass parliament but recently cleared by a Senate committee inquiry, will be discussed by Trade Minister Craig Emerson and his counterpart, Gita Wirjawan, next week in Jakarta.

The Indonesian government has just announced three months' delay for further consideration of new quarantine rules that restrict vegetable and fruit imports to only four ports, seriously hampering Australian growers' access to the Jakarta market. Indonesia is likely to want some quid pro quo on delaying the illegal logging bill, which in its current form threatens to cause a serious trade dispute. With Indonesian sensitivities still tender from the 2011 live cattle export ruckus, the relationship can ill afford another quarrel.

The bill aims to prevent importation of illegally obtained timber and timber products into Australia and thereby protect local businesses and workers from unfair competition. However, the Indonesians are suspicious that the bill is disguised industry protection and will be used to target their \$390 million a year timber products exports to Australia. "Amongst others, this bill is discriminatory in that it is set to selectively impose restrictions on timber products from a limited number of targeted countries," Mr Gita wrote in a January 25 letter to the Senate standing committee.

The legislation appears to be aimed principally at forest products industries in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Malaysia, where environmental groups claim illegal practices are rife. Critics argue the legislation will be utilised to protect high-cost domestic industries -- the Australian Timber Importers Federation told the Senate committee that Australia's sawmilling and wood processing were the world's costliest.

Canberra will be under pressure from domestic paper and cardboard manufacturers, unions, environmentalists and affected communities to use the new law against those imported products.

Indonesia threatened to take Australia to the World Trade Organisation in 2009 after anti-dumping duties were imposed on Indonesian and Chinese toilet tissue.

The ruling was overturned by a Customs review, which found no proof of damage to Australian manufacturers from those imports. One of the companies in that dispute, Asia Pulp and Paper, was last week accused by Greenpeace of milling pulp in Indonesia from logs of a protected rainforest species.

Greenpeace accused APP of breaking Indonesian law and named an Australian stationery-making company, Collins Debden, as buying paper from the suspect source. (The Indonesian Forestry Department and APP say they are inquiring into Greenpeace's allegation.) Under the bill, an Australian importer bringing in "regulated timber products that include illegally logged timber" is criminally liable from the day the new law takes effect. The onus to ensure legality is on the importer.

However, regulations to define "regulated timber products" do not yet exist, even in draft form, and will be developed over two years from the bill becoming law -- unusual sequencing for Australian law.

Dr Emerson said last week that Indonesian and Malaysian concerns with the legislation could be dealt with during formulation of the regulations. But it is the absence of any details about the type of products to be covered that raises the most suspicion in Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur.

The dispute came to light last week when both Dr Emerson and Mr Gita's ministry attacked a report claiming Indonesia was frustrated by the Gillard government's "dysfunction" and neglect of the

relationship. Mr Gita was angry that unsourced excerpts from his January 25 letter were used as evidence of a general breakdown in the Indonesia-Australia relationship. His ministry said in a clarification that Indonesia hoped effective consultation with Australia would develop a common understanding on the legislation. But Mr Gita's office confirmed that the strong objections set out in his letter still stand. In it, he asked for the bill to be deferred until 2015, for proper consultation between Australia, Indonesia and other stakeholders and agreement on the products it covers.

Indonesia fully supported the objective of preventing illegal logging but "regrets that our co-operation has not been sought to date on the best means to address the aims". Indonesia believed the bill was inconsistent with Australia's international trade obligations.

1.3 Campbell Must Clean up State Finances

THE challenge facing Queensland's new government is to clean up the legacy of 14 years of Labor rule, improve the state's infrastructure and deliver on its ambitious election promises.

In doing all this, it should use the resource boom to undertake badly needed reforms, rather than squandering its good fortune on pork-barrel outlays, as Queensland governments have done time and again. Labor's most tangible legacy has been a sustained rise in state borrowing. In 2006-07, government revenues exceeded current expenses by \$1.8 billion, and with public investment running at \$2bn, the state was a net borrower of \$200 million. By 2010-11, current expenses were up 40 per cent and exceeded revenues by \$1.5bn, and with public investment almost trebling to \$5.6bn, the state's net borrowings blew out to more than \$7bn.

The LNP has committed to reduce borrowings more rapidly than Labor envisaged, with a smaller deficit to 2013-14 and a higher surplus in 2014-15. To that end, an expected \$1.1bn windfall in GST payments will be devoted to debt reduction and growth in the public-sector wage bill will be held to 3 per cent. That is well below the trend increase under Labor and it will not be an easy target to achieve. But any slippage could drastically impede debt reduction. Given those risks, improving controls on public expenditure will be crucial, but that, too, will hardly be easy, especially with the spending pressures created by Queensland's rising population.

Not only is Queensland's population growth rate a third higher than that for Australia as a whole, but the differentials are especially large in the groups that impose the greatest burden on public spending: the 5-14 age group is growing three times more rapidly than the Australian average; the population aged 65 and over; and the indigenous population. At the same time, the Brisbane conurbation's population is increasing even more quickly than that of the state as a whole.

With population more than doubling since 1981, the region's roads have struggled to cope, as has its power system, fuelling calls for added spending. But however poorly targeted Labor's response to those pressures may have been, at least some of the shortfalls in the state's social and physical infrastructure have now been met. Queensland's per capita outlays on education and health, which lagged the national average, currently equal or slightly exceed it, and with infrastructure spending at historic highs, a recent review of the state's power system concluded the deficiencies that caused widespread blackouts in 2003-04 have been remedied. That should make it easier for the new government to shift focus from increasing outlays to ensuring resources are used wisely. But that is an area where Queensland has long had difficulties, all the more given a reluctance to rationalise service provision in rural and remote regions.

Queensland's public health system, for example, is not as ineptly run as its spectacular mishaps might suggest. But of 140 public hospitals, more than 100 seem below efficient scale, even though some have been reduced to little more than community-care centres. Similar issues arise in transport infrastructure, in which the LNP's promise to devote 50 per cent of resource royalties to rural areas could simply fund boondoggles. To prevent that, the new government should put in place structures, along the lines of Infrastructure NSW, that ensure investment decisions are based on transparent, rigorous cost-benefit evaluation. But the inefficiencies are not confined to country areas.

Capacity utilisation in Brisbane's rail and bus systems, for example, is barely 50 per cent of best practice, and those systems' revenues cover less than 40 per cent of operating expenses, with taxpayers funding the shortfall. To improve cost recovery, Labor was increasing fares by 15 per cent a year for four calendar years, but with two years to go, the LNP has committed to capping increases at 7.5 per cent, slowing the transition to revenue adequacy. Given that constraint, tighter cost control must be a priority, and so should it be for government-owned corporations generally, which account for half Queensland's total government borrowing, but at 4 per cent, their return on assets is below the cost of capital. That reflects obligations that both increase costs and reduce revenues, so it is high time those obligations were subject to serious, independent appraisal.

Queensland has a relatively narrow tax base: state taxes account for a quarter of the state's revenues, as compared with 30 per cent for the states generally. The LNP's promise to significantly raise the threshold for payroll tax will narrow it further, making it even more important for Queensland to work with the other Coalition states towards comprehensive state and federal tax reform. All those reforms are a necessary but not sufficient condition for meeting the LNP's overriding promise, which is to reduce the unemployment rate to 4 per cent. That is not only far below the present rate of 5.7 per cent, but also below the level Queensland's economy could now sustain.

Queensland's labour market seems less flexible than that in other states, with larger, more persistent variations in unemployment rates between regions. The Fair Work Act has worsened the problems, as will the carbon tax. But Queensland's own regulations, for example restricted shopping hours, are also to blame, limiting job opportunities for part-time workers. Ultimately, little will be achieved without effective, ongoing scrutiny of economic policy. The LNP's promise to expand the Queensland Competition Authority's remit to efficiency reviews is welcome, but must be accompanied by appropriate changes to that institution. And while the LNP's announced fiscal principles are a good start, a clearer set of fiscal rules is needed, as well as mechanisms for monitoring their implementation.

The new government's overwhelming mandate gives it every scope for far-reaching reform. And the resource boom is the ideal time in which to do so. But Queensland's politics have long been about people and places, rather than about ideas; and learning nothing while forgetting nothing, its governments have been especially vulnerable to the populist temptation. It is up to Campbell Newman to show he has the insight Queensland needs to secure its future, rather than merely repeat the errors of the past.

1.4 The Rot Extends to Federal Labor

TODAY'S Newspann should end debate about whether Queensland Labor's problems extend to the federal party.

The government of Anna Bligh picked up 26.9 per cent of the primary vote at Saturday's election. According to Newspann, if a federal election were held last weekend Julia Gillard's government would have received just 28 per cent primary support.

This Newspann represents federal Labor's worst primary performance since September and its worst two-party result since November.

The similarities for Queensland and federal Labor are in the numbers. The only difference between the unpopular governments is that one was due for an election on Saturday while the other still has time to improve its electoral fortunes before it must face the voters.

Labor optimists will cling to the margin of error as the explanation for the three percentage points drop in primary support and the four point worsening in Labor's two-party vote. But they cannot escape the fact that the strategy of slowly building the Labor vote (and brand) over the summer months as a precursor to electoral competitiveness has utterly failed.

Poor polls, poor electoral results and a brutal leadership showdown has sent the Labor vote and the Labor brand in the same downward direction.

The end-of-February rise to 35 per cent in Labor's primary vote was its best result since the carbon tax was announced.

However, that now looks like a one-off aberration caused by voters misunderstanding Gillard's leadership contest with Kevin Rudd. They may have thought he would be returning as prime minister.

The two next Newspolls have seen the Labor vote fall to 31 and now 28 per cent, the range it was in for much of last year.

The summer has done nothing to rebuild its brand, and that brand is now further under investigation courtesy of the Queensland debacle. The brutality of the state party's defeat should leave federal MPs wondering what the electorate might have in stall for them come the end of next year.

The only good news for Labor in this Newspann is that Gillard has extended her lead over Tony Abbott on the preferred PM ratings by one point to 40 per cent against 37 per cent, and her net satisfaction rating has improved from minus 34 to minus 27

But these are hardly an endorsement, and the threat to her leadership has passed anyway. Labor needs Gillard to lift its party vote, but that isn't happening.

1.5 Libs Should Fall in Line as PM Takes on China

JULIA Gillard is in conflict with the Chinese Foreign Ministry over the decision to ban Huawei from participating in the National Broadband Network.

This is an extremely unusual diplomatic situation.

If past practice is anything to go by, the tendency will be to criticise the PM for messing up relations with a big Asian neighbour. That reaction would be dead wrong.

Gillard has behaved impeccably on Huawei and if the opposition has any brains it will fall in behind her in the national interest.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry has demanded Australia provide a level playing field and treat its companies fairly, which it claims is not happening with Huawei.

For Beijing to lecture Australia on free trade practices adds a new dimension to the concept of chutzpah. China runs one of the most restrictive and government-controlled trade and investment policies in the world.

Australia is infinitely more open to Chinese investment than China is to Australian investment.

Gillard was right to say: "Any suggestion that this is somehow in breach of our trade obligations is simply untrue. And I note China itself takes a view about its own telecommunications system and rollout, that it has got a special approach to whether or not there should be foreign investment in that."

If China was exposed to the investment and internal trade restrictions it imposes on others, there would hardly be a trade with China. It would be hilarious, were it not so dishonest, for Beijing to claim Canberra is treating it unfairly.

Huawei was banned from involvement in the NBN after formal advice to the government from ASIO and the Defence Signals Directorate, and follows similar bans in the US.

Given the confusion on this issue in the opposition, Gillard could be forgiven for making the party political point when she said: "I have stood up for Australia's national interests. I note that the opposition is standing up for the interests of a Chinese company."

Later in her remarks, Gillard pointed out that Australia has an excellent and wide-ranging relationship with China, involving engagement at every level, but "there will be moments when we see things differently". In saying this, Gillard is speaking wisdom.

No Government could have ignored ASIO or DSD advice on Chinese participation in the NBN. Beijing doesn't like this.

Beijing similarly opposes countries in the region, like Australia, having alliances with other countries, such as the US. Beijing opposes other countries holding or expressing a view on its human rights practices, which the Australian government does.

No Australian government should compromise these core national interests, nor apologise for pursuing them. And no opposition should pressure it to do so.

1.6 Living on The Edge

IN Australia, millions choose to live in places foredoomed to flood or fire.

Either in towns that regularly drown or high in the hills among eucalypts that explode like the bombs that fell on Dresden. Along the west coast of the US, millions more live on the San Andreas Fault, in San Francisco or Los Angeles, cities whose sanctified names will not save them from apocalyptic earthquakes. And despite the dress rehearsal for total disaster that was 9/11, eight million New Yorkers remain packed in and around a Manhattan destined for the mayhem of the dirty bomb promised by jihadism.

They're all trade-offs, variations on our species' risk assessments blurring the optimistic with the fatalistic. We know the worst is likely, but probably not this week.

As with our personal mortality, we hope collective catastrophe can be postponed to prolong our personal pleasure and convenience. It's lovely to live in a Heidelberg School landscape, in a foggy but romantic San Francisco, or in a city with MoMA and the Met within strolling distance.

Similarly, villagers farm the rich soils beneath drowsy volcanoes or on low-lying tropical coasts, proffering daily fruit baskets to the gods. Who inevitably ignore them, and with an indifferent shrug of their mighty shoulders get the lava flowing or the seabed suddenly budging. And another multitude dies.

Dangerous places are often very beautiful, very fertile or lots of fun. And many endangered denizens take pride in giving the upturned finger to the fickle finger of fate. Thus the insouciance and arrogance to be observed among those who dwell upon the fault line linking Frisco with the frenzied LA. Bring it on. Meanwhile, let's party. (Not that Angelenos need Richter's ructions to wreck the place. They regularly do it themselves, as the scale of their riots, with large-scale arson and looting, attests.) To discover death at the age of five was a fillip to Phillip. I'd later write about mortality being an aphrodisiac for living. Along with pollution there's some of that feeling in the air in Manhattan, an intensified hedonism, with the official religion from Washington Square Park to Wall Street being the worship of golden calves. And golden bull markets.

On this basis the high probability of this planet being clobbered by an asteroid should make us all very happy. Ask the dinosaurs - it's only a matter of time until a huge brinny emerges from the haemorrhoid belt and wipes us out. Meanwhile, there's the implacable march of global warming to amuse us. We're caught between a big rock and a hot place.

Is this why climate change denialists are so cheerful? The mocking Lord Monckton doing his very funny Marty Feldman impersonation. And Professor Plimer laughing all the way to Gina Rinehart's bank. Whereas the likes of Al Gore look so bleak. Going to Al in a hand-basket. No wonder he needed that massage.

Fact is, we're bored by calmness, dulled by tranquillity. Which is why we go on ever more alarming rides in theme parks and bungee-jump off bridges. My Auntie Con jumped out of a plane (with a parachute and an instructor) when she was 80. It's why P-platers hurtle past me on the New England Highway at Mach 1. It's why the Libs elected Tony Abbott. And, if we're not up to personal exertion, we become voyeurs of violence by watching rugby or nasty videos. Or, even worse, the news.

So to be entirely happy in the 21st century you'd need to be a bungee jumper living in LA who takes lots of drugs, watches slash movies, denies climate change, belongs to the NRA and the Hells Angels and rides a Harley without a helmet. And votes Republican. In short, to live life on the edge.

In Australia, you should have a house among the gum trees, look at TV shows with lurid autopsies, swim outside the flags, refuse to wear a seat belt and vote for Tony Abbott. And you'll live happily and briefly ever after.

1.7 Aussies Leave US Blokes behind in Their Recovery from The GFC

BARACK Obama would kill for Julia Gillard's problem with blokes.

Here, our men are grumpily employed. In the US, the people one would expect to share the spoils of an even modest recovery are being left behind. Only 30 per cent of the white American males who lost their jobs in the Great Recession between 2007 and 2009 have been rehired since. The black American male, by contrast, is markedly better off in the recovery. More than three out of the four jobs he lost have come back, which suggests the path to recovery is through lower income work. The difference between white and black is not of itself unusual. Black Americans shed relatively more jobs at the bottom of each cycle. In the Great Recession, one in 10 (10.2 per cent) were retrenched, while the figure for white males was 6.6 per cent. But the gap in recovery has never been wider.

In Australia, we still tell ourselves that the blue-collar male is a victim of the global economy. Manufacturing has been in decline since the 1960s. Women are more qualified than ever and are dominating the services economy. But our blokes have been excelling in recent years when compared with their white brothers in the US. Rewind the labour clock five years, to March 2007, when our respective unemployment rates were last in sync, at 4.4 per cent each. The white American male appeared to be the more employable, with 74.1 per cent of all those aged 20-plus in jobs. The Australian-born male - the closest proxy in our official statistics - had an employment rate of about 72.5 per cent. Five years later, the American white male has fallen to 68.8 per cent, while the Australian-born is at 70 per cent.

A lead too small to crow about, perhaps, but the comparison gets more interesting when one counts up the numbers still standing after the global financial crisis. There are 4.5 per cent fewer white American men aged 20-plus in work than there were five years ago. Australia, on the other hand, has created an extra 5.3 per cent more jobs for its local-born blokes during the same period. Yet we whinge about the price of electricity or the congestion on our trains and are diverted by childish slogans such as stopping the boats. The initial human face of the GFC was the black or Hispanic American family that was suckered into the subprime housing market. But it is the worker in the middle, the white American male, who has borne the brunt of the painful restructure since those loans turned toxic.

The US is experiencing an ongoing identity crisis even more profound than what we felt after "the recession we had to have" in 1990-91. The disappointing thing about the American, and indeed European, responses to date is there is no era-defining argument among the economic and political class about what this all means.

Partisan politics and its partner in cliché, the media, has so thoroughly dominated the public service, academe and even private-sector think tanks across the past generation that every attempt to contribute to this debate must first pay homage to a pre-existing ideology. That should be the warning to both

Right and Left that they are lost. The Depression led to a revolution in thinking about the role of government. Stagflation in the 1970s forced government to take a big step back.

Today no respected economist seems willing to explain the way the world should work. They either adapt the 1930s insights of John Maynard Keynes or the 60s insights of Milton Friedman to the present day and hope for the best. Both men had a theory about the price of labour that can be merged to make intuitive sense. Keynes said, in effect, that an unregulated market is deadly because it can drive wages down to a level that crashes the economy. Recovery does not easily follow because the worker loses his purchasing power as a consumer. But Friedman realised that if government intervened to fill the void and to set wages, workers would eventually make themselves too expensive to employ, notwithstanding their willingness to keep spending as consumers.

The rise of China has caught out the American, but not the Australian, male because the US economy had simultaneously managed to place too high a price on its labour while widening the disparity in incomes between the top and the rest. Inflation was low in the noughties, but incomes stagnated in the middle. The gap between take-home pay and consumer expectation was closed with debt. Now the borrower is a saver and no one can find their inner consumer.

Put yourself in Obama's shoes. Your re-election probably depends on how many of the underclass (black and Hispanic America) and the middle class (white America) turn up on polling day. In 2008, Obama won without a majority of the white vote because he claimed nine-tenths of the black vote and two-thirds of the Hispanic vote. But even if his multiracial base holds, the whites can eject him if they mark him down any further. That's why Obama plays the fairness card against his likely Republican opponent, Mitt Romney: to pull back some middle-class whites into his corner. He is campaigning to reform the personal tax scales so the rich no longer pay a lower rate than the people they hire, even though a divided congress is unlikely to turn any mandate into legislation. Even if Obama prevailed, or if Romney won and balanced the budget the other way, through belt-tightening, this would avoid the real question.

Cutting the size of government or raising taxes to match the existing level of spending doesn't explain what the next driver of growth will be. What is it exactly that government is supposed to be making way for?

2.1 Mereposisi Ujian Nasional

Hajatan akbar ujian nasional (UN) untuk SMA/SMK/MA dan SMP/MTs/SMPLB telah usai. Agenda yang tersisa adalah UN SD/MI/SDLB yang akan dilaksanakan pada 7–9 Mei. Seperti tahun-tahun sebelumnya, UN tahun ini juga masih diwarnai isu kebocoran soal dan beredarnya paket kunci jawaban. Kebocoran soal dan kunci jawaban mata pelajaran Matematika dalam UN SMP sebagaimana dilaporkan Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) di wilayah Jabodetabek menjadi salah satu contoh. Kasus tersebut kini sedang dalam pengusutan Pusat Penilaian Kependidikan (Puspendik) Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan (Balitbang) Kemendikbud (SINDO, 30/4).

Apa pun hasil pengusutan Puspendik, kejadian itu patut disayangkan karena pemerintah sejatinya telah mengerahkan seluruh sumber daya sipil dan militer untuk mengamankan UN. Dengan jujur bahkan harus dikatakan bahwa tidak ada satu pun negara di dunia ini yang perhatiannya terhadap ujian melebihi negara kita. Selain kebocoran soal, UN juga diwarnai kejadian yang menunjukkan ketidakjujuran (dishonesty). Budaya sontek yang melibatkan siswa, guru, dan pengawas masih umum terjadi. Banyak pihak mengatakan bahwa ketidakjujuran ini merupakan akibat dari tekanan yang luar biasa dari UN. Tekanan itu misalnya berupa tuntutan dari orang tua dan sekolah untuk lulus. Orang tua jelas berkepentingan dengan kelulusan anaknya untuk melanjutkan studi. Sementara sekolah berkepentingan dengan tingkat kelulusan siswa karena berkaitan dengan citra lembaga.

Di luar kepentingan pendidikan, UN ternyata juga menjadi perhatian pejabat publik seperti menteri, gubernur, kepala dinas pendidikan, dan bupati/wali kota. Mereka menaruh perhatian karena keberhasilan UN dapat digunakan sebagai alat untuk meningkatkan citranya sebagai pejabat publik. Karena itu, banyak kepala daerah yang memberikan target kepada kepala dinas pendidikan untuk meningkatkan kelulusan siswa. Kepala dinas pendidikan meneruskan perintah atasannya dengan mengundang kepala-kepala sekolah. Tujuannya jelas, agar kepala sekolah menyukseskan UN. Karena diperintahkan kepala dinas pendidikan, kepala sekolah pun tidak mau kalah. Mereka kemudian membentuk tim sukses yang melibatkan guruguru di sekolah. Strategi menyukseskan UN pun diatur, mulai dari caracara yang normal hingga yang tak normal.

Cara yang normal tentu dengan melakukan proses belajar-mengajar yang baik dan memperbanyak try out soal-soal UN. Biasanya setelah semua ikhtiar dilakukan, para guru pun mengajak siswa untuk memperkuat kondisi spiritualnya. Karena itu, jangan heran jika saat menjelang UN selalu terjadi peningkatan religiositas siswa. Budaya doa bersama pun menjadi kegiatan yang paling banyak dilakukan sekolah. Sementara cara-cara yang tidak normal dilakukan guru seperti mengajak siswa ke tempattempat yang dianggap keramat/ suci untuk bermohon sukses UN. Bahkan ada juga kejadian siswa diminta untuk meminum air atau membawa pensil yang telah dibacakan doadoa tertentu. Itu semua dilakukan untuk memperkuat sugesti siswa. Beberapa kejadian tersebut sekadar menunjukkan betapa besar dampak negatif yang ditimbulkan dari kebijakan UN.

Ironinya, fenomena ini terjadi setiap menjelang pelaksanaan UN. Ini belum termasuk anggaran ratusan miliar rupiah yang dihabiskan untuk menyelenggarakan UN. Pertanyaannya, apakah pemerintah melalui Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Kemendikbud) akan terus melaksanakan UN? Padahal UN telah banyak menimbulkan ketakjujuran, tekanan psikologis, isu kebocoran soal, serta korban mental dan fisik yang dialami siswa. Bukankah Kemendikbud selalu menekankan pentingnya pendidikan karakter? Pertanyaannya, apa relevansi pendidikan karakter dengan UN? Rasanya belum ada teori yang dapat menjelaskan secara memuaskan keterkaitan pendidikan karakter dengan kebijakan UN.

Harus diakui, UN merupakan produk politik. Itu karena kebijakan UN merupakan kesepakatan eksekutif dan legislatif sehingga harus dilaksanakan dengan alokasi biaya dari Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara (APBN). Alasan ini juga yang selalu dikemukakan pemerintah saat merespons tuntutan penghapusan UN. Karena merupakan produk politik, untuk menghapuskan UN, pasti akan memakan waktu yang lama. Pasti diperlukan lobi-lobi politik untuk menghapuskan kegiatan yang menyerap anggaran ratusan miliar rupiah. Pihak-pihak yang selama ini diuntungkan secara ekonomis pasti akan merasa sangat kehilangan jika UN dihapuskan. Karena itu, langkah yang paling realistis adalah mereposisi fungsi UN. Reposisi fungsi ini dapat dilakukan dengan cara tidak menjadikan UN sebagai komponen kelulusan siswa.

Sejauh ini pemerintah menentukan kelulusan siswa ditentukan oleh komponen ujian sekolah (40%) dan UN (60%). Pemerintah pun selalu beralasan bahwa UN bukan satu-satunya komponen untuk kelulusan siswa. Pemerintah telah memberikan alokasi 40% pada sekolah untuk menentukan kelulusan siswa. Secara normatif yang dikemukakan pemerintah ini benar adanya. Tetapi, fakta menunjukkan bahwa perhatian sekolah pada UN masih sangat dominan. Jika UN tidak dijadikan komponen kelulusan, secara otomatis kelulusan siswa menjadi wewenang guru. Untuk menilai kelulusan siswa, guru sesungguhnya telah melakukan dengan cara penilaian yang autentik (authentic assessment) dalam bentuk ulangan harian, ujian tengah semester, ujian akhir semester, penugasan, dan mengobservasi perilaku siswa setiap hari. Dari sudut pandang teori evaluasi pendidikan dapat dikatakan bahwa cara ini jauh lebih dapat dipercaya daripada hasil UN. Fungsi UN selanjutnya dapat dikembalikan pada tujuan awalnya, yaitu pemetaan mutu pendidikan.

Berdasar hasil UN pemerintah dapat memetakan mutu pendidikan, memberi penghargaan sekolah yang berhasil, dan secara intensif membina sekolah yang kurang berhasil. Komponen terpenting yang harus dibina adalah guru. Ini karena guru merupakan ujung tombak pendidikan. Rasanya akan jauh lebih baik kalau anggaran UN dimaksimalkan untuk meningkatkan mutu guru. Dengan guru berkualitas, pendidikan nasional pasti akan diperhitungkan di level dunia

2.2 Verifikasi Parpol yang Objektif dan Adil

Baru-baru ini, Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) memutuskan persoalan penting menyangkut ketentuan partai politik (parpol) yang akan mengikuti pemilihan umum (pemilu), salah satunya bahwa semua parpol, baik baru maupun lama, harus mengikuti proses verifikasi yang dilakukan Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU).

Keputusan ini patut kita apresiasi karena MK telah menunjukkan dirinya sebagai institusi negara yang terus berupaya menegakkan akal sehat. Ketentuan bahwa parpol lama yang sudah menempatkan kader-kadernya di parlemen tidak perlu diverifikasi untuk bisa ikut pemilu jelas bertentangan dengan akal sehat dan prinsip keadilan. Oleh karenanya, keputusan MK juga menjadi pelajaran penting buat partai-partai yang ada di parlemen agar lebih berhati-hati dalam memutuskan undang-undang, tidak boleh mengikuti selernya sendiri, harus tetap berpegang teguh pada akal sehat dan prinsip-prinsip keadilan. Bagi KPU, keputusan ini menjadi rambu-rambu sekaligus peringatan awal agar lebih objektif dalam melakukan verifikasi, tidak membedakan antara parpol yang telah lolos *parliamentary threshold* (PT) dengan yang belum dan antara parpol-parpol lama dengan yang baru. Semua harus diperlakukan secara objektif dan adil. Dinamika di lapangan membuktikan bahwa dukungan rakyat berkembang begitu dinamis. Parpol-parpol mengalami fluktuasi. Hanya dengan verifikasi yang objektif, adil, dan transparan yang bisa meyakinkan publik bahwa suatu parpol dianggap layak atau tidak layak mengikuti pemilu.

Verifikasi merupakan unsur penting dalam proses penataan parpol. Kita tahu, setelah proses transisi yang sudah terjadi sejak Mei 1998, hal yang harus dilakukan adalah proses pelembagaan politik. Artinya, semua lembaga politik harus diorientasikan untuk mendukung penguatan pelembagaan demokratisasi. Di antara lembaga-lembaga politik yang paling memiliki peran strategis adalah parpol. Karena hanya parpol yang secara kelembagaan berwenang mengajukan nama-nama kandidat yang hendak menduduki jabatan-jabatan penting di lembaga-lembaga demokrasi. Parpol juga berhak mengajukan kader-kadernya untuk duduk di lembaga legislatif (DPR), eksekutif (presiden/wakil presiden, kepala daerah/wakil kepala daerah), dan yudikatif (sebagian hakim konstitusi). Karena peranannya yang sangat strategis itu, kehidupan kepartaian harus ditata agar selaras dengan semangat pelembagaan demokratisasi.

Penataan yang dimaksud bukan untuk membatasi hak warga negara untuk berserikat dan berkumpul sebagaimana ketentuan konstitusi, tetapi untuk menerapkan syarat-syarat apa saja yang harus dipenuhi parpol agar bisa mengikuti pemilu. Diterapkannya syarat-syarat itu antara lain bertujuan untuk membatasi jumlah parpol. Pada tiga kali pemilu pascareformasi, jumlah parpol yang berhak mengikuti pemilu masih terlalu banyak. Karena saking banyaknya parpol yang harus dipilih, selain membingungkan, pilihan rakyat menjadi terpecah-pecah ke dalam banyak parpol sehingga tak ada satu pun yang berhasil mendapat dukungan rakyat secara mayoritas mutlak (di atas 50%). Karena banyaknya partai yang berhasil mendudukkan anggotanya di DPR, lembaga legislatif menjadi pasar politik yang sangat ramai dengan tingkat multipolaritas yang tinggi. Padahal pemerintahan kita menganut sistem presidensial yang artinya kepala pemerintahan berada di tangan presiden yang meniscayakan presiden mampu meredam atau setidaknya mengimbangi kekuatan DPR agar pemerintahan bisa berjalan efektif. Karena multipolarisasi kekuatan parpol di DPR, dalam menjalankan pemerintahannya Presiden harus berkoalisi dengan sejumlah parpol untuk memenuhi kebutuhan suara mayoritas. Akan tetapi, meskipun koalisi sudah dibangun, pada praktiknya masih ada parpol anggota koalisi yang tidak patuh dan menghambat laju jalannya pemerintahan. Untuk mengatasi masalah ini, satu-satunya cara yang paling realistis adalah dengan menaikkan PT, gunanya untuk menyederhanakan (memperkecil) jumlah parpol, dan— yang lebih penting— untuk membuka peluang lahirnya parpol peraih suara mayoritas yang mendukung Presiden. Dengan demikian, Presiden tidak perlu lagi tersandera dalam koalisi.

Sayangnya, UU yang menjadi landasan penyelenggaraan Pemilu 2014 yang seyogianya menetapkan PT minimal 5% ternyata hanya menetapkan PT 3,5% sehingga upaya untuk menyederhanakan parpol tidak terpenuhi. Pengalaman tiga pemilu (1999, 2004, dan 2009) menunjukkan bahwa masih cukup banyak parpol yang meraih suara di atas 3,5%. Sebagai implikasinya, pasca-Pemilu 2014 nanti,

lembaga legislatif kemungkinan besar masih akan tetap dipenuhi para politikus yang berasal dari beragam parpol. Artinya akan tetap terjadi multipolarisasi yang sarat perdebatan (tanpa ujung) dalam setiap pembahasan RUU atau tugas-tugas lainnya. Selain itu, kemungkinan besar, presiden juga akan tetap tersandera oleh kekuatan-kekuatan parpol yang ada di lembaga legislatif. Presiden akan “dipaksa” untuk tetap membangun koalisi yang dalam praktiknya sarat dengan tawar-menawar politik yang cenderung mengabaikan etika dan kesantunan dalam berpolitik.

Mengingat ketentuan PT yang masih relatif rendah, verifikasi parpol menjadi urgen, selain sebagai wahana penataan, yang lebih penting adalah sebagai upaya identifikasi apakah parpol-parpol yang hendak ikut pemilu benar-benar lahir atas aspirasi rakyat ataukah sekadar kendaraan politik dari segelintir elite yang membutuhkan batu loncatan untuk meraih kekuasaan. Salah satu poin penting dalam proses verifikasi adalah adanya deteksi dini keberadaan parpol di tingkat akar rumput yang dibuktikan dengan signifikansi jumlah anggota, kepengurusan, dan keberadaan kantor sebagai pusat kegiatan.

Dengan proses verifikasi yang benar-benar objektif dan transparan, publik akan tahu mana parpol yang benar-benar layak ikut pemilu dengan yang hanya partai papan nama atau abal-abal. Selain itu, publik juga akan tahu mana parpol yang betul-betul menasional dengan yang hanya didukung oleh sebagian wilayah saja (lokal). Agar tujuan itu tercapai, dalam menjalankan verifikasi, prinsip-prinsip transparansi, objektif, dan adil harus benar-benar diterapkan KPU.

Untuk membuktikan kebenaran data data keanggotaan, kepengurusan, dan keberadaan kantor misalnya tidak cukup hanya menggunakan metode random sampling seperti yang dilakukan lembaga-lembaga riset. KPU harus benar-benar mendeteksinya secara mendetail sesuai dengan fakta di lapangan. Untuk menjamin jalannya verifikasi yang benar, dibutuhkan kontrol dari segenap komponen civil society. Lembaga-lembaga pemantau pemilu, misalnya, seyogianya mulai bekerja sejak dini, ikut memastikan agar verifikasi yang dilakukan KPU benar-benar berjalan secara objektif dan adil. Jika verifikasi benar-benar dilakukan secara objektif, adil, transparan, dan mendetail sesuai dengan fakta, dari 46 parpol yang sudah mendaftar di KPU, mungkin akan sebagian kecil saja yang benar-benar layak mengikuti pemilu sesuai dengan ketentuan perundangundangan.

2.3 Belajar dari Piagam Madinah

Indonesia terkenal akan keragaman yang ada dalam tubuhnya, perbedaan suku, agama, ras, dan golongan berada dalam satu tubuh, yaitu tubuh Indonesia.

Tidak bisa kita pungkiri, terkadang perbedaan ini menjadi isu pemecah persatuan paling mudah, menjadi hal yang sangat sensitif untuk dibahas. Isu-isu konflik yang dilatarbelakangi perbedaan dengan mudah membesar layaknya api yang siap melahap kayu-kayu kering, sebut saja beberapa kasus dari Poso, Ambon hingga yang terakhir Sampang menjadi goresangoresan luka di tubuh Indonesia.

Kondisi persatuan dalam banyak hal berbeda seperti ini juga pernah dialami Madinah, kota kecil yang menjadi tujuan hijrah Nabi Muhammad, kota penuh perbedaan yang disatukan dengan instrumen hukum yang bernama Piagam Madinah, sebuah piagam yang terbentuk untuk mengakomodasi kepentingan mayoritas maupun minoritas, sebuah piagam yang membawa semangat persatuan tanpa ketimpangan. Piagam Madinah saat itu menjadi instrumen hukum yang dengan tegas diberlakukan pemerintah untuk menjaga koridor toleransi terhadap perbedaan agar tetap tercipta kerukunan.

Pemerintah pada saat itu mampu menciptakan perasaan aman dan nyaman bagi warganya. Negeri ini sebenarnya telah memiliki instrumen hukum yang mirip dengan Piagam Madinah, instrumen itu bernama Pancasila dengan semangat Bhinneka Tunggal Ika yang artinya berbeda-beda tetapi tetap

satu. Sayangnya saat ini Pemerintah Indonesia tidak tegas menerapkan Pancasila dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Negara pun gagal menciptakan perasaan aman bagi warga negaranya, khususnya mereka yang termasuk golongan minoritas. Ketegasan menjadi kunci dari keberhasilan penerapan Piagam Madinah. Tanpa ketegasan dari pemerintah tentu kerukunan Madinah tidak akan pernah tercipta, begitu pun dengan negeri ini, Indonesia, diperlukan ketegasan dari pemerintah agar Pancasila mampu menjadi instrumen pemersatu dalam perbedaan. Madinah memang kota yang kecil, tidak dapat kita bandingkan dengan Indonesia, sebuah negeri yang begitu luas, terdiri atas ratusan pulau dengan ragam kebudayaan yang lebih banyak dari Madinah, tapi kita tentu dapat belajar arti toleransi dari Madinah dan arti ketegasan hukum dari Piagam Madinah.

Semangat persatuan dalam Pancasila bukan hanya mimpi. Sadar atau tidak kita sebagai warga negara Indonesia, sebagai anak yang lahir dari rahim Ibu Pertiwi seharusnya mampu menghargai perbedaan dan mewujudkan toleransi dalam Pancasila menjadi semangat persatuan untuk Indonesia _yang lebih baik, Indonesia tanpa penindasan.

2.4 Kekuatan Arus Bawah

Pilkada Jakarta—pilgub dan wagub—memang sangat mengejutkan karena pasangan calon yang tak diguga- duga justru menjadi pemenang yang dengan mudah merobohkan optimisme— mungkin juga arogansi—penguasa lama dan pasangan barunya yang hendak maju kembali.

Tempo hari dengan penuh keyakinan si Gubernur sesumbar bahwa di DKI Jakarta tak ada gubernur yang sukses di putaran lima tahun pertama. Mereka sukses di lima tahun kedua. Pernyataan ini menyilapkan harapan bahwa dirinya akan sukses pula di lima tahun kedua itu. Ah, sebuah omongan ngoyo woro seperti angin bertiup tanpa arah. Para gubernur sebelumnya orang-orang luar, yang sudah berprestasi mentereng dalam hanya rata-rata lima tahun masa jabatan. Bang Ali sukses di lima tahun pertama. Bang Yos pun begitu. Mereka punya konsep, berani bekerja keras dan memiliki naluri kepemimpinan yang jelas. Gubernur yang sekarang ini sudah menjadi wakil gubernur selama 10 tahun. Wakil gubernur, apa bedanya dari sang gubernur sendiri? Jika selama 10 tahun menjadi wakil dia tidak mangkir dan bekerja efisien, hampir siang malam mendampingi sang Gubernur, maka wakil juga dengan sendirinya memahami urusan kerja di Balai Kota untuk menata Jakarta dan menyejahterakan warganya. Selama menjadi wakil gubernur, 10 tahun lamanya itu, apa kerjanya? Dia orang dalam, artinya pegawai DKI Jakarta, dan paham urusan tentang Jakarta. Lalu menjadi wakil gubernur selama masa tersebut. Ketika kemudian menggantikan posisi atasannya sebagai gubernur DKI Jakarta, dia tidak punya prestasi apa pun. Dia berkata, di putaran lima tahun kedua baru akan memperoleh kesuksesan. Di dalam putaran lima tahun pertama itu sebenarnya dia sudah memasuki masa kepemimpinan gubernuran dalam putaran ke-15. Lima belas tahun ikut bergulat memimpin Jakarta tidak tahu-menahu tentang urusan Jakarta? Betapa mengerikannya.

Jika semua warga DKI Jakarta membaca catatan perenungan Pak Prijanto, wakil gubernur, yang hendak mengundurkan diri dalam bukunya Mengapa Saya Mundur, menangislah kita semua melihat tata kelola Kota Jakarta. Pengelolaan uang tunjangan yang demikian besarnya itu ibaratnya dibagi begitu saja tanpa mempertimbangkan prestasi. Di buku itu disebutkan bahwa Gubernur berkata, mereka, yang diberi tunjangan besar itu, adalah teman-temannya naik turun tangga. Ini urusan profesional, apa urusan kekeluargaan? Uang rakyat dikelola dengan cara yang tak bisa dipertanggungjawabkan seperti itu? Betapa celaka manajemen sumber daya insani dan manajemen keuangan di gubernuran itu. Orang yang sudah bergulat di dalam kepemimpinan selama 15 tahun masih begitu cara pengelolaan sumber daya insani dan pengelolaan keuangan negara di bawah tanggung jawabnya? Kita tidak tahu mengapa orang dengan kualitas seperti ini mendapat perhatian sebuah partai milik penguasa? Dukungan partai itu luar biasa seriusnya untuk membuatnya selamat. Lalu partai-partai besar bergabung memberikan dukungan kepadanya. Kita heran, apa yang diinginkan partai-partai itu?

Kita tidak tahu, menurut mereka, berapa harga orang ini? Tapi marilah kita perhatikan suara arus bawah. Rakyat DKI Jakarta, yang merupakan arus bawah itu, memperlihatkan kemarahan tak tertahan. Mereka itu diam-diam membangun solidaritas politik yang kuat. Inilah solidaritas politik arus bawah. Mereka tidak takut menghadapi siapa pun karena saat menuju kotak pemilihan, mereka maju sebagai warga masyarakat yang sehat, bebas, dan merdeka secara politik. Banyak di antara mereka warga suatu partai. Tapi suara partai saat ini tidak laku. Suara partai dianggap angin lalu.

Manusialah yang berdaulat dan bukan partai. Warga negara yang bergerak, berdaulat, dan berhak memilih pemimpin secara merdeka dan bukan lagi partai. Rakyat sudah paham bahwa selama ini mereka “ditunggangi” kepentingan partai, diperbudak kepentingan partai. Rakyat, kita semua, belajar untuk tahu, perlahan-lahan, bahwa partai telah menipu kita. Partai besar yang mendukung orang ini partai bermasalah. Urusan korupsi besar-besaran di dalam partai itu belum dipertanggungjawabkan dan kita menuntut adanya pertanggungjawaban itu. Maka, langkahnya membela dan mendukung tokoh ini hanyalah langkah gugup orang yang sedang kehilangan nalar politik. Dengan sendirinya, rakyat, termasuk yang memiliki simpati terhadap partai itu, tak lagi memedulikannya. Simpatinya hilang. Kemarahan besar yang tampil dan mengutuknya sebagai partai yang tak tahu malu.

Partai-partai lain, yang bersedia merunduk-runduk mendukung langkahnya, hanya partai biasa, dipimpin orang biasa, yang melihat sikap menjilat sebagai barang wajar. Aliansi begitu banyak partai itu—dalam rencananya—masih didukung operasi diam-diam yang harus memenangkan tokoh ironis yang 15 tahun berkuasa tanpa prestasi itu. Di manakah nalar sehat para pemimpin itu? Apa suri teladan yang mereka berikan kepada rakyat? Nalar sehat tidak ada. Suri teladan kepada rakyat tidak ada. Pemihakan terhadap kebenaran tak ada. Niat memberi perlindungan kepada rakyat juga tidak ada. Yang ada pada mereka hanya agenda politik, yang berhubungan dengan keselamatan partai masing-masing dan jaminan keamanan tokoh masing-masing. Dengan begitu partai tak ada hubungannya dengan rakyat. Langkah partai ya langkah partai. Begitu saja. Di baliknya tak ada komitmen apa pun yang memberi kesenangan bagi rakyat.

Kalkulasi partai selalu kalkulasi politik biasa: politik yang tujuannya meraih kekuasaan buat kekuasaan itu sendiri. Tak ada tokoh yang bicara kekuasaan sebagai mekanisme menyejahterakan rakyat. Tak ada tokoh yang bicara kekuasaan sebagai jalan strategis mewujudkan pesan konstitusi. Kekuasaan untuk kekuasaan sama dengan macan atau singa, memiliki taring dan kuku tajam, tenaga besar untuk menerkam kelinci. Gabungan partai-partai besar itu hanya mirip binatang jalang di hutan belantara yang hendak menerkam apa saja yang layak diterkam.

Tapi baik sekali diingat: macan, singa, dan hewan-hewan lainnya di hutan belantara hanya macan kertas, singa kertas, dan “hewan-hewan” yang tak bisa berbuat apa pun karena mereka hanya kertas. Sekarang ini yang berkuasa rakyat. Maka lupakan macan kertas, singa kertas, dan “hewan-hewan” itu semua. Suara rakyat, suara arus bawah, jelas suara politik sejati. Mereka siap membuktikan bahwa rakyat bukan bebek yang takut kepada macan kertas dan singa kertas tadi. Suara arus bawah tak terkira derasnya.

2.5 Islam Aswaja Melawan Terorisme

Teror kembali mengancam negeri kita. Penggerebekan disertai saling tembak antara Densus 88 dengan teroris terjadi di Solo. Ditambah lagi, penemuan amunisi bom di Tambora, Jakarta.

Kenyataan ini menunjukkan potensi terorisme masih menghantui kita. Banyak teroris yang sudah ditangkap, dieksekusi, dan ditembak di tempat. Namun, rupanya, hilang satu tumbuh seribu. Generasi teroris terus bermunculan. Sering kali juga mata rantai teroris berjalan seperti multi-level marketing, antara upline dan downline tidak saling mengenal. Hal inilah yang membuat ribet dalam proses

pengendalian dan perburuan terhadap teroris.

Berbagai langkah telah dilakukan. Institusi terkait seperti Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Teroris (BNPT) dengan gigih dan cangguh terus berupaya melakukan upaya penyisiran baik secara ofensif maupun defensif. Langkah deradikalisasi pun giat dilakukan BNPT dengan menggandeng ormas dan LSM. Tentu saja, langkah ini sangat tepat dan perlu mendapat dukungan masyarakat.

Memang tidak mudah melakukan “pelucutan ideologi” terhadap teroris. Mereka yang sudah kadung mengidap pemahaman radikal keagamaan dan kemudian melakukan gerakan teroris butuh proses yang berliku untuk mengembalikan mereka pada pemahaman keagamaan yang benar. Saat ini banyak bermunculan jamaah-jamaah Islam yang berhaluan puritan-fundamentalis. Mereka cenderung eksklusif dengan menyajikan kajian-kajian keislaman yang keras semisal menghujat kelompok keagamaan lain sebagai pelaku syirik hingga menyebut-nyebut pemerintah sebagai thoghut. Jamaah-jamaah seperti inilah yang sesungguhnya berpotensi membawa gerak terorisme, terlebih bagi anak-anak muda yang masih labil atau mereka yang masih dangkal pengetahuan agamanya akan mudah dipengaruhi dan berakibat mengkhawatirkan. Fakta sudah banyak menunjukkan seperti kasus Muhammad Syarif, pengebom bunuh diri di Mapolsek Cirebon yang berawal dari mendengarkan ceramah keagamaan yang keras.

Jiwa kebangsaan dalam perspektif aswaja (ahlussunnah waljamaah) selalu mengacu pada kekayaan sejarah dan budaya Nusantara. Paham ini dengan sendirinya mengandung semangat menghargai tradisi, pluralitas budaya, dan martabat manusia sebagai makhluk budaya. Dalam perspektif kebangsaan semacam ini, lokalitas mendapatkan tempat terhormat. Proses akulturasi terhadap tradisi telah melahirkan Islam dengan wajah yang ramah terhadap nilai budaya setempat serta menghargai perbedaan agama, tradisi, dan kepercayaan sebagai warisan budaya Nusantara. Maka, dengan sendirinya Islam aswaja memiliki wawasan multikultural dalam arti kebijakan sosialnya bukan hanya melindungi tradisi atau budaya setempat, tetapi mengakui manifestasi tradisi dan budaya setempat yang memiliki hak hidup seperti inti dari paham keislaman aswaja itu sendiri. Wali Songo telah mengajarkan sebuah tradisi keagamaan yang transformatif (tahawwuly wa taghyiry).

Proses Islamisasi yang dilakukan Wali Songo bukan sekadar mengajak masyarakat masuk Islam, tetapi juga mengubah struktur sosial masyarakat menuju tata sosial yang lebih adil, manusiawi, dan berakar pada tradisi masyarakat setempat. Inilah tradisi keagamaan model aswaja dengan kekuatan basisnya kepada ulama dan pesantren. Ulama sebagai pilar keagamaan aswaja memegang peran penting dalam menguatkan ikatan kolektivitas bangsa ini. Gerakan-gerakan sosial yang pernah muncul di masa kolonial Belanda selalu menjadikan pesantren sebagai basis perjuangan melawan kolonialisme dan eksploitasi penjajah.

Selain menekankan kebutuhan ritual ibadah, pesantren juga memiliki fungsi kemasyarakatan yang lebih luas. Ia merupakan wadah transformasi kultural secara total. Kemampuan Islam aswaja melakukan praksis dalam arti memadukan ajaran Islam tekstual dengan konteks lokalitas dalam kebijakan hidup beragama melahirkan wawasan dan orientasi politik substantif. Cara Islam aswaja membawa ajaran Islam tidak melalui jalan formalistis, lebih-lebih dengan cara membenturkannya dengan realitas secara frontal, tetapi dengan cara lentur. Misalnya soal imamah, Islam aswaja lebih melihat kriteria atau persyaratan yang dipenuhi oleh seorang imam atau khalifah daripada berdirinya suatu negara (daulah). Selama prinsip al-‘adalah (keadilan), al-syura (musyawarah), almusawah (persamaan derajat), dan pemeliharaan lima prinsip universal manusia (ushul alkhams) dipenuhi pada diri seorang pemimpin, maka kalangan aswaja akan menerima kepemimpinan tersebut.

Dalam hal berdirinya suatu negara sesungguhnya dimaksudkan untuk mengayomi dan melayani kehidupan umat serta menjaga kemaslahatan bersama (masalah musytarakah). Aswaja tidak memiliki patokan yang baku tentang negara, tetapi hanya memberikan kriteria yang harus dipenuhi oleh suatu negara. Sepanjang persyaratan tegaknya negara tersebut terpenuhi, maka negara tersebut sebagai

pemerintahan yang sah. Sebaliknya, meskipun suatu negara memakai bendera Islam, tetapi didalamnya terjadi banyak penyimpangan serta menginjak-injak sistem pemerintahan yang sah, maka praktik semacam itu tidaklah dibenarkan dalam aswaja.

Ajaran aswaja tidaklah pernah jumud, tidak kaku, tidak eksklusif, tidak elitis dan juga tidak mengenal status-quo. Ia bisa berkembang dengan fleksibel berkat potensi nahdliyah yang dimilikinya. Rangkaian historis dan metodologi mulai dari Rasulullah sampai manhaj a-taghayyur alijtima'i merupakan pemaknaan aswaja sebagai metode berpikir dan bertindak yang digariskan oleh para sahabat Nabi dan tabiin yang sangat erat kaitannya dengan situasi politik dan sosial yang meliputi masyarakat muslim waktu itu.

Dari sinilah lahir pemikiran dan tindakan keislaman dalam berbagai bidang yang tetap berada dalam satu roh, yaitu senantiasa berada di jalur moderat. Selalu bisa beradaptasi dalam segala situasi dan kondisi, itulah watak Islam aswaja. Posisi moderasi ini bisa diibaratkan dengan titik tengah biji kelereng yang bulat. Makin besar bulatannya, titik tengahnya pun kian besar pula. Dengan makin berkembangnya konsep moderasi tersebut, makin berkembang pula daya jangkauan dan potensinya mengikuti perkembangan zaman. Jelaslah, model pengamalan Islam ini yang inheren dengan keindonesiaan. Islam aswaja yang sejak awal berwatak inklusif, pluralis, dan nasionalis. Karena itu, jangan sekali-kali melukai Indonesia dengan radikalisme dan terorisme.

2. 6 Persiapan PON

Pekan Olahraga Nasional (PON) XVIII Riau dijadwalkan besok secara resmi dibuka Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Namun sejumlah persiapan perhelatan event olahraga terbesar di Tanah Air ini terkesan acak-acakan.

Masih ada sejumlah fasilitas yang akan digunakan untuk para atlet PON belum sepenuhnya kelar. Bahkan, beberapa hari lalu, ada atap vtenis roboh dan melukai dua orang. Persiapan PON yang begitu amburadul menandakan manajemen yang buruk. Betapa event sebesar itu tidak digarap secara baik dan terencana. Kenyataan ini tentu menyedihkan dada kita semua. Fenomena ini memalukan kita semua sebagai warga bangsa. Hal ini bisa dikatakan keterlaluannya karena kejadian seperti ini bukan hal yang pertama kali.

Sebelumnya kita sangat ingat bagaimana persiapan SEA Games XXVI di Palembang, Sumatera Selatan, tahun 2011 juga memiliki problem yang hampir sama. Persiapan event olahraga se-Asia Tenggara itu juga dinilai kurang bagus. Mendekati hari H peresmian, berbagai fasilitas olahraga juga belum rampung dan dikebut sehingga hasilnya cenderung asal-asalan. Fenomena ini tentu patut dipertanyakan. Kenapa pemerintah tidak bisa belajar dari kesalahan dalam kasus yang sama?

Bagaimanapun event olahraga ini bukan dadakan, tetapi sudah diagendakan jauh-jauh hari sebelumnya. Dananya pun tersedia. Tentu kalau dianalisis sebenarnya masalah utamanya adalah manajemen yang sangat buruk. Tapi yang menjadi pertanyaan, apakah hal itu disengaja, dipelihara atau memang tidak mampu? Itu pertanyaan mendasar yang perlu menjadi renungan kita semua. Tampaknya yang terjadi adalah adanya pembiaran atau ketidakseriusan untuk membuat persiapan event PON ini bisanya berjalan baik. Sejumlah pihak diuntungkan oleh kondisi seperti itu.

Ada sejumlah faktor yang membuat berbagai persiapan event seperti PON ataupun SEA Games sering kali bermasalah. Pertama, masih adanya anggapan bahwa keberadaan event seperti PON merupakan sebuah proyek—yang bagi sebagian kalangan dipakai untuk meraih keuntungan sebanyak-banyaknya. Akhirnya, yang muncul adalah bagaimana mereka bisa ‘memanfaatkan’ dana yang ada untuk dimasukkan ke kantong pribadi atau untuk kepentingan golongan. Tak mengherankan kalau pada kedua event itu tercium aroma dugaan korupsi yang kental. Kedua, lunturnya rasa nasionalisme sehingga tidak menganggap keberadaan PON atau SEA Games sebagai hal yang bisa mengharumkan

nama bangsa atau meningkatkan prestasi olahraga nasional. Akibatnya, mereka tidak merasa bertanggung jawab untuk ikut menyukseskan pelaksanaan pesta olahraga tersebut. Ketiga, tidak adanya sanksi tegas bagi pihak-pihak yang bertanggung jawab atas penyelenggaraan event tersebut. Yang diduga terlibat korupsi pun terkesan setengah-setengah dalam menyelidikinya. Akibatnya berbagai kecurangan maupun korupsi selalu terjadi di setiap tahun.

Fenomena PON maupun SEA Games ini seharusnya dijadikan pelajaran bersama agar ke depan hal itu tidak terulang lagi. Selain diperlukan komitmen dan integritas yang tinggi dari pemerintah dan seluruh stake holder yang terlibat, sistem manajemennya juga harus dibenahi secara total. Di sini pengawasan yang ketat diperlukan agar proyek-proyek berjalan secara baik, pembangunan bisa tepat waktu dengan kualitas sesuai dengan standar. Semua harus menyadari event-event seperti ini sangat penting sehingga harus digarap serius dan baik. Kita berharap dengan event seperti PON ini, prestasi olahraga kita bisa bergairah lagi. Bagaimanapun prestasi olahraga bisa mengangkat harkat dan martabat negara kita di percaturan dunia. Kita harus sadar bahwa Indonesia adalah bangsa yang besar. Dengan komitmen dan integritas yang tinggi, kita pasti bisa meraih impian itu, yakni menjadi _negara dengan prestasi olahraga yang mengagumkan. Semoga!

2.7 Menata Sektor Keuangan

Sampai kini Indonesia masih tersandera oleh sektor keuangan dalam menopang perekonomian. Para ekonom dan pengambil kebijakan selalu menyebut soal inefisiensi birokrasi, korupsi, dan infrastruktur sebagai penyebab lambannya kemajuan aktivitas perekonomian atau lemahnya daya saing ekonomi. Tentu saja faktor-faktor itu memang penting, tetapi ada satu variabel lain yang perlu diurus dengan saksama supaya percepatan kemajuan ekonomi lekas diperoleh, yaitu sektor keuangan. Terdapat banyak masalah serius yang kerap dilekatkan ke sektor keuangan, di antaranya tingkat kedalaman yang terbatas (*limitation of financial inclusion*) dan komitmen pembiayaan terhadap sektor riil. Di sisi lain, setahun lalu DPR dan pemerintah telah mengambil keputusan besar membentuk otoritas jasa keuangan (OJK) yang melebur empat sektor keuangan menjadi satu payung, yaitu perbankan, pasar modal, asuransi, dan lembaga keuangan nonbank. Dengan begitu, sekarang merupakan momentum yang tepat untuk menata dan mengurus soal-soal terkait sektor keuangan tersebut.

Bank Dunia baru saja memublikasikan (2012) laporan yang bertajuk “Global Financial Development Report 2013: Rethinking the Role of the State in Finance”. Terbitan itu sebetulnya secara implisit mengandung dua keyakinan khusus. Pertama, penataan sektor keuangan memerlukan campur tangan negara/pemerintah. Ini berlawanan dengan pandangan arus utama yang percaya bahwa intervensi pemerintah (yang eksekutif) di sektor keuangan akan menghambat pertumbuhan sektor keuangan itu sendiri. Kedua, campur tangan negara dalam penataan sektor keuangan harus dikemas dengan kerangka pikir yang baru, tidak seperti yang dijalankan banyak negara selama ini. Intervensi tidak dimaksudkan untuk menghambat kemajuan, tetapi sekadar memastikan pergerakan dan tata kelola sektor keuangan satu lini dengan visi ekonomi negara. Pendeknya, tidak boleh sektor keuangan melaju ke arah yang berlawanan dengan tujuan ekonomi nasional (kesejahteraan sosial). Studi yang dikerjakan Cihak, Demircuc-Kunt, Feyen, dan Levine (dalam World Bank, 2012) menunjukkan rute yang harus dilewati dalam penataan sektor keuangan itu adalah penciptaan lingkungan makro ekonomi yang mendukung (*enabling environment*), pembangunan sektor keuangan (*financial development*), dan pembangunan sosio-ekonomi (*socioeconomic development*).

Aspek yang mesti digarap dalam tahap *enabling environment* ada dua hal: kebijakan sektor keuangan (menyusun regulasi, tindakan intervensi langsung, kebijakan persaingan, dan promosi infrastruktur keuangan/teknologi) serta kebijakan pendukung lain (kerangka kebijakan makroekonomi, kerangka hukum dan modal sosial, konsentrasi dalam sistem, internasionalisasi). Berikutnya, fase *financial development* juga fokus pada dua aspek: fungsi-fungsi sektor keuangan (informasi, pengawasan investasi, pengelolaan risiko, dan lain-lain) dan capaian pembangunan sektor keuangan (kedalaman,

akses, efisiensi, dan stabilitas). Dalam konteks yang lebih luas, Levine (2005) menerjemahkan pembangunan sektor keuangan dalam lima hal berikut: (i) memproduksi dan memproses informasi terkait investasi dan alokasi modal berdasarkan penghitungan yang cermat, (ii) pengawasan individu dan korporasi dalam hal tata kelola setelah alokasi modal dilakukan, (iii) fasilitasi perdagangan, diversifikasi produk/ investasi, dan manajemen risiko, (iv) memobilisasi dan mengumpulkan tabungan, serta (v) mempermudah lalu lintas pertukaran barang, jasa dan instrumen-instrumen keuangan lainnya. Jika kualitas lima aspek tersebut mengalami perbaikan, pembangunan sektor keuangan dapat dikatakan berhasil, demikian pula sebaliknya. Langkah-langkah terpadu inilah yang kemudian akan bermuara pada tahap terakhir, yakni pencapaian socioeconomic development, sebuah upaya meraih kesinambungan pertumbuhan dalam jangka panjang dan pengurangan kemiskinan.

Lewat kerangka seperti itulah dapat dipetik prioritas penataan sektor keuangan yang mesti dikerjakan secepatnya. Pada aras enabling environment, pekerjaan rumah yang harus dilakukan adalah kebijakan persaingan dan penyusunan kerangka hukum. Kebijakan persaingan sektor keuangan masih sangat lemah, misalnya yang tampak di sektor perbankan. Dari sekitar 121 bank di Indonesia, sebelumnya hanya dikuasai 10 bank terbesar saja (menguasai sekitar 63% aset, dana pihak ketiga, ataupun penyaluran kredit). Dengan kata lain, struktur sektor perbankan nasional cenderung terkonsentrasi. Implikasinya, bank-bank menengah/ kecil susah berkembang dan nasabah dirugikan, misalnya dengan pengenaan tingkat suku bunga (kredit) yang tinggi. Sementara itu, penyusunan dan penegakan hukum juga lamban sehingga aneka moral hazard terus terjadi tanpa kejelasan penalti hukum. Hal ini tentu saja memberi insentif bagi langgengnya praktik penyimpangan di sektor keuangan. Selanjutnya, pada level financial development, banyak sekali masalah yang mengemuka.

Pada instrumen fungsi sektor keuangan, pengadaan informasi untuk kepentingan investasi tidak banyak dilakukan dan diketahui publik. Pengawasan investasi dan pengelolaan risiko tidak terukur dengan baik sehingga alokasi kegiatan investasi tidak sepenuhnya sesuai dengan harapan pemerintah. Di luar itu, pada indikator capaian sektor keuangan nasional terdapat problem kedangkalan rasio kredit terhadap GDP (Indonesia hanya sekitar 29% pada 2010, padahal Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, dan China sudah di atas 100%), ditambah dengan akses yang terbatas (saat ini hanya sekitar 40% penduduk yang tersambung dengan sektor keuangan/ perbankan sehingga sebagian besar tidak dapat mengembangkan usaha). Efisiensi sektor perbankan juga dalam bahaya karena BOPO (penerimaan operasional terhadap pengeluaran operasional) sebesar 85% (bandingkan dengan perbankan di negara-negara ASEAN yang berada di kisaran 40–60%).

Jadi, dalam banyak hal ada berita yang tak menggembirakan. Substansi yang sama juga terjadi di industri asuransi, pasar modal, dan lembaga keuangan nonbank (meskipun detail dan perihal teknis masalahnya pasti berbeda). Isu kepemilikan (dan penguasaan asing) serta intensitas keterbukaan dalam sektor keuangan juga merupakan agenda yang mesti didesain dengan benar karena ini merupakan pertarungan kedaulatan perekonomian di masa depan. Tidak pada tempatnya untuk menolak pelaku ekonomi asing ataupun persaingan terbuka dengan negara lain, tapi kegagalan untuk mengambil porsi yang tepat terhadap isu tersebut berpotensi meruntuhkan perekonomian negara. Menghadapi aneka pekerjaan rumah yang berat tersebut, para pengambil kebijakan di sektor keuangan, khususnya di Bank Indonesia, Kementerian Keuangan, dan OJK, mesti punya kemampuan menerjemahkan konstitusi negara, wawasan ekonomi yang luas, dan sikap independen yang kuat untuk merumuskan itu semua agar sektor keuangan betul-betul menjadi pilar penting dalam pembangunan ekonomi nasional.